MARCH 1936

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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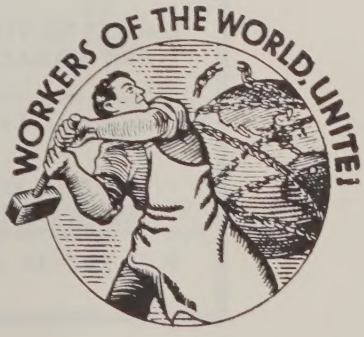

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For Leninist-Stalinist Cadres

DURING the Lenin memorial days Communists of all countries, examining with especial care the road over which they have passed, review the course taken by the struggle for the cause of Lenin, and take note of the new questions which have arisen before the proletariat, and how they have to be dealt with in the light of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin.

Today, twelve years since the death of the genius, leader and teacher of the world proletariat, one of the decisive questions at the present stage of the development of the world Communist movement is that of Communist Party cadres.

Lenin built up a *new type* of Party, one different from all the parties of the Second International; a Party equipped with the only truly scientific theory, the theory of Marxism-Leninism; a Party which is the vanguard of the working class. Lenin taught that the Party cannot be established, cannot grow and develop, and that a mass Bolshevik policy cannot be put into effect, unless the best people of the working class are organized, unless proletarian revolutionary cadres are developed, cadres that are hammered out in the mass revolutionary struggle, that are connected by thousands of links with the masses in the factories, in the mass organizations, etc.

The cultivation, strengthening and correct distribution of revolutionary cadres is a most important condition for the victorious struggle of the proletariat. The conversion of the real possibility of a victorious proletarian revolution into actual revolution depends upon the ideological staunchness of the Party cadres, upon their ability to behave as real Bolsheviks both in their daily work and when sharp changes are taking place in the situation, upon their ability to rally the millions and to lead them into battle.

* * *

The period of history which is opening up before the world Communist movement makes new and higher demands upon the Communist Parties. It requires of Communists that they display tremendous revolutionary activity, initiative and boldness in carrying out a mass Bolshevik policy, that they carry on an untiring struggle to establish united action by the working class, the *decisive* link in preparing the toiling masses for great battles for their emancipation.

The new tactical line adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern demands, in addition, new methods of work and struggle, as well as *special qualities* in those people who have decided to devote their lives and their energy to the revolution, to the struggle for communism.

The most important task facing *all* the Sections of the Comintern today is the struggle to hammer out in the Communist Parties themselves such Party cadres as can, in the specific circumstances of each

country, work in a new way and undertake leadership in their own spheres of activity in a new way. What sort of cadres should there be, where are they to be found, how trained, how used, and how can they be helped to grow—these are burning questions of the practical struggle, question which our policy concerning cadres must solve. In different countries there will be different solutions, depending on the stage of development of the revolutionary movement, on the level of development of the Communist Party itself, the strength of the influence of reformism, the traditions of the working class movement and, of course, on the general economic and political situation in the country.

But in the Party's policy with regards to cadres, there are also general tasks, which are common to all Sections of the Comintern, and which are based upon the very rich experiences of the Bolsheviks, multiplied by the experiences of the international Communist movement. For no other country, wrote Lenin:

> ". . . had anything even approximating this revolutionary experiences, this rapid and varied succession of different forms of the movement—legal and illegal, peaceful and stormy, open and underground, small circles and mass movements, parliamentary and terrorist."*

In no other country, Lenin continues:

> ". . . was there concentrated during so short a period of time such a wealth of forms, shades and methods of struggle involving *all* classes of modern society. . . ."**

Therefore, to *know* the fundamental part of the experiences of the Russian Bolsheviks, to *know how* to use these experiences properly, means to find the most important pre-conditions of the correct policy with regard to cadres in each Section of the Comintern.

As the leader of the Party, no matter what circumstances he found himself in—legal or illegal, in exile, in emigration, or as President of the Council of the People's Commissars—Lenin always considered it one of his first duties to superintendent directly and personally the selection, education, and *distribution* of cadres. This is also a characteristic feature of the daily, Party and political, state, economic and military work of Comrade Stalin, who has never ceased to occupy himself, directly and personally, with questions dealing with Party cadres. Lenin and Stalin, as true leaders of Bolshevism, adopted an attitude of extreme contempt towards various Menshevik and Trotskyite "leaders", who regarded themselves as "pure politicians" and, as we know, disdainfully and in lordly fashion approached the tedious humdrum work arising in the field of organizational questions, and especially in regards to the question of cadres.

Long before the revolution, in the most difficult periods of underground work under tsarism, Lenin, in elaborating the ways and methods to be followed in revolutionary struggle, stressed in every possible way the decisive importance of the problem of cadres.

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* Lenin, *"Left Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, p. 11, International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*

"Against us, against the small groups of Socialists sheltering in the broad Russian 'underground', there stands the gigantic mechanism of a most powerful modern state, which is harnessing all its forces to crush socialism and democracy."*

It was in these circumstances that Lenin had to begin to build up Bolshevik organizations. He worked out methods for creating revolutionary organizations carefully and in full detail, and he gave *a decisive place to questions of cadres, conspiracy, discipline.* Lenin wrote:

"Unless we increase and develop revolutionary discipline, organization and conspiracy, it is impossible to wage a struggle against the government. And conspiracy demands first and foremost that particular circles and people specialize on different functions of the work, and that the unifying role be entrusted to a numerically as small as possible central nucleus of the 'League of Struggle'. The different functions of revolutionary struggle are infinitely diversified; legal agitators are needed, capable of talking among the workers in such a manner that they cannot be prosecuted for what they say, people who know how to say only A, leaving it to others to say B and C. We need distributors of literature and leaflets. We need organizers of workers' circles and groups. We need correspondents from all factories and workshops, to report on all that goes on there. . . . We need people who would be on the look-out for spies and provocateurs. We need people to fix up quarters for conspirative purposes. We need people to pass on literature, to pass on messages and to maintain connection of all kinds. We need people to collect money. We need agents among the intelligentsia and officials, who are in contact with the workers, with life in the factories and works, with the managing boards (with the police, factory inspectors, etc.). We need people to maintain contacts with different towns in Russia and other countries. We need people to fixe up different methods of mechanically reproducing all kinds of literature. We need people to look after the literature and other things, etc. The more divided, the smaller the job undertaken by the individual or individual group, the greater the chances of success in carefully setting the job going and in best securing it from failure, in discussing all the conspirative particulars, using every possible means to evade the vigilance of the gendarmes and mislead them, the surer, too, the success of the job—the more difficult it would be for the police and gendarmes to track down the revolutionary and his connection with the organizations, and the easier it would be for the revolutionary party, without any losses for the cause as a whole, to put other in the place of those of its agents and members who have perished."**

At different stages of the development of the revolutionary movement Lenin raised in great detail all the questions concerning the creation and education of cadres; the question of specialization in revolutionary work, of splitting up the functions, of selecting people for special work, of the selection and education of people who have a complete

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 501, Russian edition.
** *Ibid.*, p. 189.

mastery of these separate functions and who ensure strict conspiracy and discipline.

While educating and training cadres of revolutionaries, leading individual revolutionary circles, carefully working out forms and methods of revolutionary struggle in conditions of police terror and barbarous persecution, Lenin elaborated the plan for building up the future great party, the C.P.S.U., the new type of party. And here Lenin placed in the foreground the problem of cadres—the question of professional revolutionaries.

> "I assert: (1) that no movement can be durable without a stable organization of leaders to maintain continuity; (2) that the more widely the masses are spontaneously drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement and participate in it, the more necessary is it to have such an organization, and the more stable must it be (for it is much easier for demagogues to side-track the more backward sections of the masses); (3) that the organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession; (4) that in a country with an autocratic government, the more we *restrict* the membership of this organization to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organization, and (5) the wider will be the circle of men and women of the working class or of other classes of society able to join the movement and perform active work in it."*

He saw the working class as the chief source from which to recruit Party cadres. He considered systematic work with the foremost workers so as to train them ideologically and politically, and so as to promote them to the level of professional revolutionaries, to be the chief task facing the professional revolutionaries.

Lenin denounced and ridiculed those of the "practicians" who were indifferent or neglectful towards revolutionary theory, and who in their activities did not strive towards raising the masses to the level of the vanguard but themselves sank down to the level of the non class-conscious and unorganized workers. With regard to these individuals, Lenin pointed out that they usually constitute reserves for opportunist vacillations in the working class movement.

As the revolution movement grew, as the network of Party organizations grew, the question of cadres acquired more and more real importance.

Lenin mercilessly lambasted those "organizers" who complained of the lack of Party workers, who considered the problem of cadres an insoluble one; and he taught us that we must seek out new Party workers in the heart of the masses of the workers, and promote them from there.

Lenin, the genius and strategist of the revolution, wrote the following during the turbulent rise of the revolutionary movement in 1905:

---

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, p. 138. International Publishers, New York.

"My advice is to shoot on the spot all those who allow themselves to say there are no people. There are vast numbers of people in Russia, only you must recruit the youth extensively and boldly, boldly and extensively, still more extensively, and still more boldly. . . . We must, with desperate quickness, unite all revolutionary people with initiative and set them in motion. Don't be afraid that they are untrained, don't shake with fear about their inexperience and immaturity."*

In March 1905, in his article "New Tasks and New Forces", Lenin wrote:

"A revolutionary epoch is to Social-Democracy what wartime is to an army. We must extend the ranks of our army, transfer it from a peace to a war strength, mobilize the reservists, call up all those on furlough, organize new auxiliary corps, units and services. We must not forget that in war it is inevitable and necessary to fill the ranks with less-trained recruits, very often to put rank-and-file soldiers in the place of officers, and to speed up and simplify the promotion of soldiers to the rank of officers."**

It is important not only to know how to gather the masses for the struggle at a moment of general revolutionary upsurge. What is no less, if not more, important is to *know how to retreat.* After the 1905 revolution, "of all the routed opposition and revolutionary parties, the Bolsheviks retreated in the finest order" (Lenin). The explanation of this was the staunchness of the Bolshevik cadres, their irreconcilable attitude to "revolutionary phrases", their ability to conduct revolutionary work even in the most difficult conditions of reaction and terror by utilizing all legal opportunities.

A fight must be carried on to create such cadres as will not fall into panic after defeat and who can learn to work on behalf of the revolution even in conditions of the most ferocious reaction; really to *work* and not to deck themselves out in "ultra-revolutionary" garb and chatter about "not wanting to help the fascists", or about "not wanting to help the reactionary Social-Democrats", *i.e.*, not to adopt the role of "observers and registrars of approaching waves in expectation of fine weather", of whom Comrade Dimitroff spoke so clearly and vividly at the Seventh Congress. We must cultivate such cadres as can self-sacrificingly undertake the offensive at decisive moments and as can, when circumstances demand, retreat in good order, maintaining contacts with the masses, preserving confidence in oncoming victory, learning how to work in the most difficult conditions, flexibly adapting their methods of work to the changing situation, and who all the time are faithful to the end to the one aim, the one cause, namely, the revolution.

* * *

What were the qualities in cadres which Lenin emphasized as

* Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol. VII, p. 102, Russian edition.
** Lenin, *Selected Works,* Vol. III, p. 436, International Publishers, New York.

essential prior to the October Revolution? For, be it remembered, the struggle to seize power has its culmination in armed uprising. Naturally all the preceding work of the Communist Party and the quality of its cadres are put to the test at this most acute moment.

Prior to the October uprising, in stressing that uprising must be treated as an art, Lenin wrote the following:

> "Pick the most resolute elements (our 'shock' elements and the *young workers;* and also the best sailors) into small detachments, to occupy all the most important points, and to *participate* everywhere, in all the important operations, for instance:
>
> "Surrounding Petrograd and cutting it off, taking it by a combined attack by the fleet, the workers, and the army—this is a task which demands *art* and *triple daring.*
>
> "Forming detachments from the best workers with rifles and bombs, to advance and surround the 'centers of the enemy' (the military schools, the telegraph and telephone centers, etc.); their watchword must be: *Let all die, but do not allow the enemy to pass.*"*

These are the qualities essential in cadres. These requirements apply to the masses who take part in the uprising, and ten times more so to the *leading* cadres. But Lenin demanded still more from the leaders. First and foremost, he demanded *the ability to subordinate everything to the solution of the chief task,* to the victory of the uprising. Further, the *ability to fix "the favorable moment for, and expedient methods of, attacking".* And to this end the leaders must *master in full measure the methods of Marxism-Leninism, must know how* on this basis to give an *exhaustive political analysis of the situation* —of the international situation, the alignment of forces inside the country, the appraisal of the forces of the enemy and of their own forces, the points of uprising, the possibility of ensuring neutrality among vacillating sections of the population, etc.

The task of *correctly distributing* cadres acquires special importance in these conditions—and here the need for the *specialization* of cadres is particularly essential in connection with the solution of strictly defined tasks. The art of leading an uprising, if the time of this uprising is ripe, lies in correctly combining the initiative of the masses with a strictly defined plan of struggle.

The Bolshevik Party attributed tremendous importance to work among the armed forces of the enemy. The cadres selected by the Party for this particularly responsible work must possess many additional qualities. Comrades working in these circumstances must solve at least two tasks: the minimum task—to prevent the armed forces of the enemy from undertaking action against the insurgents, and the maximum—to draw the enemy forces over to their own side. They, better than anyone else, must *know how to interpret the moods of the masses of soldiers:* very much will depend on their work, on their ability to display initiative and link up the Party with the masses, and to estimate correctly the relation of forces.

* Lenin, *Collected Works,* Vol XXI, p. 98, International Publishers, New York.

Immediately after the victorious October Revolution, work had to be done to create such cadres of Bolsheviks as could lead the masses in defense of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Then, and in the following period of Civil War, the Leninist-Stalinist struggle for cadres meant a struggle to save the dictatorship of the proletariat, a struggle to consolidate and strengthen it. After the end of the Civil War, during the time of the famine and the breakdown of the whole of the economic life of the country, it was necessary to gather together cadres capable of fighting self-sacrificingly to restore the economic life of the country, to consolidate the Party and the Soviet organs. During that period, it was necessary to gather together cadres of Bolsheviks who would not lose their heads in the face of the unprecedented difficulties, cadres, capable of understanding the meaning and importance of the great Leninist turn from War Communism to the New Economic Policy.

At the Eleventh Party Congress, in 1922, Lenin said:

> "In connection with the N.E.P. we set about making a fuss, remaking institutions and establishing new ones. This is the most harmful chatter. We have come to the conclusion that the crux of the whole situation is in people, in the selection of people."

Comrade Stalin defined the type of leader-organizer the country needs, in the following words:

> "What does it mean to be a leader and organizer in our conditions, when the proletariat holds power? It does not mean to select assistants, to set up an office, and hand out instructions through it. To be a leader and organizer in our conditions means, first of all, to know the workers, to be able to pick out their worthy points and shortcomings, to be able to approach workers, and, secondly, to be able to distribute workers in such a way that:
>
> "1. Each worker feels that he is in his place.
>
> "2. Each worker can give the revolution the maximum he is at all capable of giving according to his personal qualities.
>
> "3. Such a distribution of workers should result not in a hitch, but in coordination, unity, and a general improvement in the work as a whole.
>
> "4. The general direction of the work organized in this way serves as an expression and fulfilment of the political idea in the name of which the workers are assigned to their posts."

After the death of Lenin there began a new stage of development of the revolution, one which demanded the mobilization and exertion of all forces to overcome colossal difficulties. The sharpening class struggle in the country found its reflection in the Party and among the working class. The agents of the class enemy inside the Party tried to revise Leninism, to split the Bolshevik Party and turn it from the Leninist-Stalinist path onto the road of capitulation before difficulties, onto the road leading to the restoration of capitalism. The C.P.S.U. led by Stalin, the great comrade-in-arms of Lenin, crushed the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists-Zinovievists, the Right and "Left" capitulators. In

this struggle Stalin, true to the teachings and traditions of Lenin, gathered together cadres and educated them in the spirit of loyalty to the behests of Lenin.

In this period, the struggle for cadres signified the struggle for Party unity, for Leninism, for the building of socialism in our country, against opportunism, treachery, and capitulation. Referring to this period of struggle, Comrade Stalin said:

> "We had therefore to arm ourselves with strong nerves, Bolshevik grit and stubborn patience, in order to counteract the first failures and to march unswervingly towards the great goal, without permitting any wavering or uncertainty in our ranks."*

The opportunists and capitulators

> ". . . did not always confine themselves to criticism and passive resistance. The threatened to raise a revolt in the Party against the Central Committee. More, they threatened some of us with bullets. Evidently, they reckoned on frightening us and compelling us to leave the Leninist road. These people apparently forgot that we Bolsheviks are people of a special cut. They forgot that you cannot frighten Bolsheviks by difficulties or by threats. The forgot that we were forged by the great Lenin, our leader, our teacher, our father, who did not know fear in the fight and did not recognize it. They forgot that the more the enemies rage and the more hysterical the foes within the Party become, the more red-hot the Bolsheviks become for fresh struggles and the more vigorously they push forward."**

Under the leadership of Stalin, the Party has gained world historic victories. It has converted a poor, devastated, technically weak and uncultured country, into a powerful country, an industrial country, into the land of victorious socialism. By the twelfth anniversary of his death. the cause of Lenin—socialism—has achieved victory in the U.S.S.R. finally and irrevocably. The moment has arrived when victory, the triumph of the general line of the C.P.S.U. as regards industrialization and collectivization, and the building of the classless society, have become clear to everybody. It was precisely at this moment that the voice of our mighty Stalin rang out, calling for cadres. Said Stalin:

> ". . . emphasis must now be laid on people, on cadres, on workers who have mastered technique. That is why the old slogan 'technique decides everything', which is a reflection of a period we have already passed through, a period in which we suffered from a famine in technical resources, must now be replaced by a new slogan, the slogan 'cadres decide everything'. That is the main thing now."***

The way Comrade Stalin dealt with the question of Party and non-Party Bolsheviks became a mighty stimulus to cultivating new millions of builders of socialism. The Stalinist solicitude for people, his words about the need for a solicitous and attentive attitude towards every

---

* Joseph Stalin, *The Soviets and the Individual*, p. 5, International Publishers, New York.
** *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.
*** *Ibid.*, p. 10.

worker, his declaration that "we must solicitously and carefully cultivate people as a gardener cultivates his favorite fruit tree", and the Stalinist fighting slogan to the effect that "cadres decide everything", have now become the fighting program of the whole Party, the whole country. Today, the mighty development of the Stakhanov movement is the best reply to the call of our leader, the practical fulfilment of this line taken by the great Stalin.

* * *

Throughout the whole of the course of the history of Bolshevism the problem of cadres has been a most important problem. Due to the carrying out of the Leninist-Stalinist policy in regards to cadres and work in connection with cadres, Bolshevism came out victorious. And today, too, the problem of cadres occupies a central position in the minds of the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism, by clearing alien, anti-Party, demoralized, bureaucratic elements and spies out of its ranks, by raising the level of revolutionary vigilance, is thereby strengthening its cadres, first and foremost.

It is the task of all Communist Parties to learn from the Bolsheviks this uninterrupted and tireless work with cadres. It is the task of all Communist Parties to understand, to master the Leninist-Stalinist way of raising the question of the role and importance of the problem of cadres in the Party and the working class movement, to understand and master the Leninist-Stalinist methods of work with cadres. It can be noted, without the slightest exaggeration, that the most vulnerable spot in all the Parties of the Comintern is their work with cadres. For a number of Parties in the Comintern, the weakness of the work in regard to cultivating, training and selecting cadres, the shortcomings and mistakes in this field, the incorrect policy with regard to cadres have become the chief factors retarding their development.

The bourgeois and fascist enemies of the Communist Parties, who excellently understand the decisive role of cadres and the weakness of the Communist Parties in precisely this field, spare no efforts or money to take advantage of this weakness. While consistently pursuing the system of bloody terror and physical extirpation of the Party's best cadres the bourgeois and fascist governments at the same time spare no means to throw a network of spies and provocateurs over the revolutionary movement. In these circumstances, the most decisive task facing the Sections of the Comintern is to raise their revolutionary vigilance, and to educate, select and correctly distribute cadres in this spirit.

From the platform of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff, the comrade-in-arms of our great Stalin, called upon the Communist Parties to concentrate attention upon the problem of cadres.

Making his starting point the experiences of Bolshevism, Comrade Dimitroff gave a detailed analysis of the correct policy in regard to cadres. He stressed the need for all the leading workers and organs of the Party really to know their people. He emphasized the tremen-

dous importance of skilfully, correctly using cadres and of properly distributing them. Comrade Dimitroff spoke of the need for affording systematic assistance to cadres, for caring for cadres, and for being able to safeguard and preserve cadres. Comrade Dimitroff gave the following main criteria as a guide in selecting cadres:

> "What should be our main criteria in selecting cadres?
>
> "First, absolute devotion to the cause of the working class, loyalty to the Party, tested in the face of the enemy—in battle, in prison, in court.
>
> "Second, the closest possible contact with the masses. The comrades concerned must be wholly absorbed in the interests of the masses, feel the life pulse of the masses, know their sentiments and requirements. The prestige of the leaders of our Party organization should be based, first of all, on the fact that the masses regard them as their leaders, and are convinced through their own experience of their ability as leaders, and of their determination and self-sacrifice in struggle.
>
> "Third, ability independently to find one's bearings and not to be afraid of assuming responsibility in taking decisions. He who fears to take responsibility is not a leader. He who is unable to display initiative, who says: 'I will do only what I am told', is not a Bolshevik. Only he is a real Bolshevik leader who does not lost his head at moments of defeat, who does not get a swelled head at moments of success, who displays indomitable firmness in carrying out decisions. Cadres develop and grow best when they are placed in the position of having to solve concrete problems of the struggle independently, and are aware that they are fully responsible for their decisions.
>
> "Fourth, discipline and Bolshevik hardening in the struggle against the class enemy as well as in their irreconcilable opposition to all deviations from the Bolshevik line.
>
> "We must place all the more emphasis on these conditions which determine the correct selection of cadres, because in practice preference is very often given to a comrade who, for example, may be able to write well and be a good speaker but is not a man or woman of action, is not as suited for the struggle as some other comrade who perhaps may not be able to write or speak so well, but is a staunch comrade, possessing initiative and contacts with the masses, and is capable of going into battle and leading others into battle. Have there not been ever so many cases of sectarians, doctrinaires or moralizers crowding out loyal mass workers, genuine working class leaders?
>
> "Our leading cadres should combine the knowledge of what they must do—with Bolshevik stamina, revolutionary strength of character and the will power to carry it through."*

The basic links of the Party must have cadres who, as the experiences of the C.P.S.U. teach us, and as Comrade Dimitroff has pointed out, are in the closest degree connected with the masses, live their lives in the interests of the workers, feel the pulse of the life of the masses, and their moods and requirements. Only such people should

* G. Dimitroff, *The United Front Against Fascism and War*, pp. 118-119. Workers Library Publishers, New York.

be promoted and selected; and it is in the spirit that the old active Party workers must be educated.

People must be tested in the course of their work and in battles; whether they are promoted to responsible work must depend upon how they have acquitted themselves in the practical daily work among the masses, in overcoming difficulties and particularly in acute moments of struggle. The best test of the Communist is his active struggle together with the masses and at the head of the masses in legal and illegal conditions, his behavior during strikes, in mass action, in prison, and when on trial before the class court, etc. *The best school for testing, training and educating the active Communist worker is practical work and struggle.*

We have had cases recently of promotion in the Communist Parties which have given good results. We must boldly promote the rank and file Party workers, who in class battles with the enemy has acquitted himself as a staunch and skilful fighter, to responsible and leading work.

The new tactical line adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International raises also the question of cadres in a new way. In closing the discussion of his report, Comrade Dimitroff said:

> "The question of cadres is of particular urgency for the additional reason that under our influence the mass united front movement is gaining momentum and bringing forward many thousands of new working class militants."*

It is absolutely clear that the united front movement raises new tasks before the Communist Party cadres. Is it not clear that, for instance, the active Communist worker must work in a different way in the united trade union organization than he worked hitherto in the old Red trade union? In the united trade union he is compelled to use carefully thought out, convincing arguments and to show an example by his own behavior, and thus to win the masses organized in the trade unions.

The broad application of the united front tactics in a new way demands the creation of a new type of active Communist Party worker. He is an active comrade who has a splendid knowledge of the moods and the attitude of the Social-Democratic workers to the burning questions of the daily struggle. He is a comrade who possesses the ability, by argument and advice offered in a comradely manner, to help the workers and functionaries trained in the spirit of reformism to overcome their prejudices. He is an active worker who can successfully apply all methods of struggle for the daily demands of the working masses, whose prestige goes far beyond the confines of his own Party organization and is one whom the masses recognize as their leader.

At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern Comrade Dimitroff most categorically posed the task before the Communist Parties working in conditions of fascist dictatorship, of working in the mass fascist organizations. Referring to the ancient tale of the capture of Troy, when the attacking army with the aid of the famous Trojan horse penetrated into the fortress of the enemy, Comrade Dimitroff said:

* *Ibid.*, p. 115.

> "We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics with regard to our fascist foe, who is defending himself against the people with the help of the living wall of his cut-throats."*

However, the application of these tactics demands special skill, special qualities from our active Party comrades. Meanwhile, it must be emphasized with all possible strength that very often our comrades mechanically repeat Dimitroff's words about the Trojan horse and carry on a poor fight for the operation of these tactics of their daily work. The active Communist working in the mass fascist organizations has to conduct his Bolshevik work to mobilize the masses by extensively utilizing both the forms and possibilities created by the policy and activity of the enemy.

The ability independently to find one's bearings in any circumstances, and not to be afraid of assuming responsibility in taking decisions, is undoubtedly one of the most important qualities of the active Communist worker. We must constantly inculcate this quality into each active Communist worker. But this quality assumes particularly great importance in fascist underground conditions, where contacts with the higher Party organizations cannot always be reliable, and where this contact frequently breaks down completely.

It goes without saying that the entire complex of direct tasks connected with the policy regarding cadres is different in countries where the working class movement has been driven underground from that in countries where the movement is legal. The requirements of the concrete situation also demand cadres of a definite type.

The tactics of winning the broad masses for the revolutionary struggle now being pursued by the Communist Parties raises also all the inner Party questions in a new way. Masses of new workers and functionaries are finding the way to our Parties. People are coming to us who are far from having as yet outlived their old reformist ideas and views. We must draw them into the live work of our Party and teach them to think and act in Marxist-Leninist fashion. This, first and foremost, confronts the old cadres of our Party organizations with big tasks. These cadres must themselves reorganize their ranks and take themselves in hand.

New big tasks confront the Communist cadres. The wider the mass policy pursued by the Communist Party, the firmer and better prepared from the Bolshevik standpoint must our Party cadres be.

A constellation of real Bolsheviks, Leninists-Stalinists, has grown up in the Parties of the Comintern.

The Communist Party cadres are learning and will continue to learn from the brilliant examples of Bolshevik struggle displayed by Comrade Dimitroff, the best representative of the Stalinist guard in capitalist countries.

They are acquiring revolutionary grit and self-sacrificing loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution, the cause of communism,

* *Ibid.*, p. 49.

from the example of the heroic struggle carried on by Comrades Thaelmann and Fang Chi-min, Rakosi and Antikainen, Gramsci and Itsikava, Terraccini and Jonco Panov, from the examples of the struggle carried on by the Bolshevik cadres, trained by Lenin and Stalin.

For all the Communist Parties the question of cadres today is decisive. It is essential for us to know how to apply the theory and experience of the Bolsheviks to the requirements of the present stage of the international working class movement. If we are successfully to solve this question we must make an unswerving study of the works of Lenin and Stalin.

The Danger of Fascism and the Struggle of the Communist Party of France*

By MAURICE THOREZ

[*On January 22 to 25, 1936, the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of France met in Villeurbanne, a working class district of Lyons.*

Not a single one of the Party's congresses which have taken place in the past attracted the attention of the whole of France, both friends and enemies, to such a degree as did the recent congress of the Communist Party of France, which has become a most powerful political factor in the life of the country.

The rich experience of the Communist Party of France in the struggle for the united proletarian front and the people's anti-fascist front, summed up at this congress, is of international significance.

Below we publish, in abridged and summarized form, the report of Comrade Thorez, Secretary of the Communist Party of France.

—EDITORIAL BOARD]

"TWELVE years ago, in the town in which we are meeting today," began Maurice Thorez, delivering his report to the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of France which recently took place, "the Fourth Congress of our Party was held. Suddenly the awful news reached us: Lenin had died! The brilliant teacher, the founder of the Communist International was no more. A tremendous feeling of emptiness seized us.

"Lenin is dead, but Leninism lives!"

True to the teachings of Lenin, the French Communists have applied all their strength to bring about working class unity. And the Communist Party of France, said Thorez, may be proud of its victories in this sphere.

In the first part of his report the General Secretary of the Communist Party of France gave an exceptionally clear picture of the riches of France.

"France," he said with pride, "is not a backward country. It possesses great natural wealth and an up-to-date, powerful industrial apparatus. The geographical position of France, the navigable rivers which irrigate the land, the fertility of its soil, the mild climate—all make it a country possessed of rich and varied resources."

The speaker then gave a detailed description of the wealth of France, its tremendous possibilities in the sphere of agriculture and industry. A terrible economic crisis, however, is raging in this country,

* From the report at the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of France—"The Communist Party in the People's Front of Labor, Freedom and Peace."

with all its tremendous opportunities. The speaker introduced a great deal of data to show the full depth of the crisis: the number of unemployed having increased from 312,000 in December 1933 to 419,000 in December 1934 . . . foreign trade declining, the budget balance being violated, and the national income having decreased between 1929 and 1934 by 30 per cent.

What is the explanation of such a deep crisis raging in such a rich country? And Thorez replied:

> "It is very simple. It has come about because the riches created by the labor of many generations of French workers and peasants have been appropriated by a handful of parasites, who use this wealth exclusively for their own gain."

On the basis of indisputable data, Thorez showed that there are two hundred families in France who dominate affairs in politics and economy. These two hundred families are the force leading the country to destruction, the force which inflicts upon the people of France a government acting in the interests of capital.

Thorez analyzed the conditions of the working class and other toiling sections of the population, and dwelt in special detail on the ruin in the villages, after which he drew a picture of the consequences of the crisis in all branches of public life.

> "Not only is the population not increasing," said Maurice Thorez, "but it is declining. If this alarming state of affairs continues, our country will be on the verge of catastrophe. In a few decades, we shall become a nation of old men, our people will degenerate, will decline in numbers, and will gradually die out. . . . The workers and peasants are afraid of burdening society with helpless beings who will drag out lives of misery, or who, one fine day, will go into the field of battle to die in defense of the coffers of their masters."

Hence the conclusion—give the parents of these children work, raise their wages, give them more healthy homes, and organize the protection of their children's health.

France, famous as a land of science, literature and art, is undergoing a terrible decline in these spheres.

The speaker introduced figures illustrating how expenditure on public education and scientific institutes has been curtailed, and how the theaters and cinemas are vulgarized. The French bourgeoisie are turning their back upon the cultural traditions of the country; they are leading the people to the same degree of cultural decline as of moral degradation and material destruction.

Then Thorez dwelt in detail on the foreign policy of Laval who tried to come to an agreement with Hitler, was a direct accomplice in the rapacious war conducted by Mussolini, and did his utmost to prevent the ratification of the Franco-Soviet Pact. Said Thorez:

> "The policy of Laval is a menace to the safety of the country. It is leading to the isolation of France. It inspires the

fascists—the instigators of war—and calls forth the astonishment and just dissatisfaction of the nations striving for peace, including those which are in the closest degree connected with France. The policy of M. Laval leads to war."

Thorez analyzed the different forms of reaction and fascism, and presented a plan to save France, drawn up by the Communist Party, and also discussed in detail the problems of united action by the working class and the anti-fascist people's front, explaining the Communist Party's plans and methods.

We give below, in detail, that part of the report made by Thorez in which he speaks of the onslaught of reaction and the danger of fascism in France.

* * *

THE ONSLAUGHT OF REACTION

At one time the picture presented to the world by France was that of a land of liberty.

"The classic country of revolutions, each of which was carried through to the end," wrote Engels.

The fierce struggle which was waged for whole centuries against the forces of reaction and oppression imbued the people of France with a love of freedom.

From the communes and Jacquerie* of the Middle Ages to the first French Revolution, from the uprisings of the people in 1830-48 to the Paris Commune—one and the same striving after social justice, one and the same thirst for freedom, inspired and aroused the people of our country to struggle. Corresponding to the level of development of the productive forces of society, each upheaval, each tremor, which threw off the chains of the past, was the guarantee for new successes in both the economic and political spheres.

The working class of France, from the days when it first came into being, has played a great part in battles for progress and liberty. Over 100 years ago the workers of Lyons, where we are assembled today, undertook their first proletarian battle in the interests and for the aims of the proletariat. In 1832 they inscribed on their banners: "Live working, die fighting."

During the first revolution, the workers of Paris were already fighting on the side of the handicraftsmen of the outlying districts, were the firmest supporters of the Paris municipality and its sections, which, after August 10, 1792, achieved the overthrow of the power of the monarchy and declared the Republic. The same Paris proletariat again declared the Republic in 1848, and, by organizing the Paris Commune, prevented the establishment of the power of the monarchy after the fall of the Empire.

The working class and the people of France achieved the establishment of the Republic, won universal suffrage, freedom of the press and of trade union organization, freedom of assembly and demonstration.

* Jacquerie—peasant uprisings in France in 1357.

It goes without saying that the workers know how relative and unstable are these liberties. If women, soldiers, immigrant workers and those of colonial origin are deprived of the right to vote, if the electoral system based on arbitrariness, deprives our Party of the representation in parliament to which it has the right by virtue of the number of votes cast in its favor, then this means that there is no true universal suffrage in France. If the paper factories and printworks are in the hands of a small group of capitalists who exploit the people of France, then there is no freedom of the press. If the radio is the monopolist possession of reaction which is in power, then this means there is no freedom of opinion. If meeting halls are controlled by the enemies of the people—then, there is no true freedom of assembly.

But the workers are prepared to wage a struggle in defense of these scanty, curtailed liberties: they fight against all incursions upon them. The governments which have been formed after February 6 brought the country to dark reaction.

The practice of emergency legislation, apart from the harmful consequences it has had upon the economic life of the country and on the fate of the toiling classes, is in addition an incursion upon the prerogatives of parliament, and, consequently, is a blow at universal suffrage. A number of emergency laws still further restrict freedom of opinion and freedom of the press: punishment can be meted out for insults directed against the heads of foreign states. Thus, it is henceforth prohibited for anyone to say that Mussolini incited the murders of Matteotti or that Hitler set fire to the Reichstag and wants to behead Thaelmann!

Other emergency laws have to the same degree violated communal liberties, calling forth a reasoned protest from the last Congress of the Mayors of France. At the same time, detachments of the state police have been sent into 180 working class municipalities in the departments of Seine-et-Oise and Seine-et-Marne.

Reactionary ministers have considerably curtailed the right of officials, teachers and postal employees to have their own trade unions or to take strike action. This affords direct encouragement to the employers who fight against the workers organized in trade unions. The government persecutes teachers, while at the same time encouraging clerical demonstrations.

Thirty years after the passage of the law separating the church from the state, a cardinal, the pope's legate, is received with pomp and is accompanied in all his travels by ministers, prefects, generals and admirals. When the cardinal passed through Lourdes, young soldiers were made to stand guard. And yet the fathers of these soldiers at one time marched into battle against the priests, to force them to submit to the laws of the republic!

At the same time Laval and Paganon refused to allow the people of Paris to pay homage to the memory of Victor Hugo, their great poet. The government not only tolerates, but encourages reactionary demonstrations against Professor Jeze. It closes down the law faculty and makes a mockery of the students, instead of rendering harmless a few

fascists, and depriving them of the opportunity of undermining the prestige of our university.

The bourgeoisie are striving, by the most varied means, to strengthen their rule over the toiling masses of our country, they are establishing special laws for immigrant workers, depriving them of the most elementary rights in a country which used to be proud of being a refuge for all those who were outcasts, and unmasked all tyrants.

The government is more and more increasing the oppression of imperialist rule over our brothers in Alsace-Lorraine, and over the colonial peoples. The native population of Algiers, Tunis and Indo-China are subjected to cruel repression; the same repression is exercised over the French who, either in these colonies or in France, remain true to the spirit of the French revolution which liberated the black slaves in the Antilles, and made them free citizens on an equal footing with their French brothers.

THE DANGER OF FASCISM

By persecuting the working class, and curtailing the rights of the people, the reactionary bourgeoisie are hoping to check the just indignation of the masses against the policy of starvation and war.

The workers, unemployed, clerks, ex-servicemen who served in the imperialist war, peasants, shopkeepers, intellectuals, in fact, all toilers, are extremely dissatisfied with the present state of affairs.

The workers are beginning to strike so as to prevent further reductions in wages, to get increases. The dockers of Rouen and Marseilles, the metal workers of Saint-Chamont, the miners of the Loire and Iser, the tramwaymen of the Lisle district have waged fearless battles.

The government employees have also undertaken action on several occasions. The workers of the state arsenals in Toulon and Brest frustrated the foul provocations of the government, and fought determinedly against the emergency laws. The war invalids and ex-servicemen have been protesting indignantly against the emergency decrees which provide for reductions in their pensions and benefit payment. On November 11 of last year, they marched to the grave of the Unknown Soldier, their brother—the memory of whom is only insulted by the constant processions of the hangmen—so as to prevent the destruction of their rights, which were once so triumphantly secured for them.

The unfortunate, ruined peasants defend themselves against the confiscation of their property, resist the sale of their property by auction, and collect together on the market grounds. Once they even occupied the building of the Prefectorate in Chartreux.

The toiling masses of the country are protesting and fighting against the policy of poverty, reaction and war, conducted by the Laval government.

Is it not true that M. Laval, the President of the Council of Ministers, and Paganon, the Minister of Home Affairs, made a proposal on July 14, 1935, to the leader of the Croix de Feu to arrange a review of their forces on the Champs Elysees, while the people of Paris demon-

strated at the Place du Bastille and the Place de la Nation? And is it not true that on November 11, during the procession of true participants in the war, under the leadership of Republican reserve officers, the Jeunesse Royal, the Francists and other fascist bands marched in front of the procession and brought up the rear?

The imperialists of France, the two hundred families which rule France, want to lay the burden of the economic crisis upon the shoulders of the toiling masses. They want to support the military and political hegemony of France in Europe; they want to maintain their domination over the enslaved colonial peoples; they want to avert action by the masses of the people and to safeguard their own outrageous privileges. *This is why they are dreaming of fascist dictatorship.*

Last year M. Andre Tardieu, former President of the Council of Ministers, arch enemy of the working class and the Communists, and open opponent of the Soviet Union, gave an interview to the official organ of the Croix de Feu. I will quote from his interview as published in *Le Jour* of April 18, 1935:

> "'And if you were offered all power?'
> "'Nothing can be done until the country understands, and it will understand only *when the active minority is able to open its eyes.*'"

There can be no two opinions on this question. Since the people "do not understand", *i.e.*, have no desire to allow themselves to be enslaved, and even permit themselves the use of the ballot box to remove M. Tardieu from power, the latter foretells that the dictatorship of two hundred families will throw off its democratic mask and come forward openly as the *active minority.*

Fascism does not confront the toiling masses in its true colors as the weapon of finance capital. Even when it resorts to violence in order to come to power, or when it applies terror after it has already seized power, even then fascism resorts to the most vulgar, unbridled demagogy. It tries to veil its true nature and its own class aims. It tries to deceive the poverty-stricken toiling masses, and especially the unemployed and impoverished peasants, the government employees who are uncertain of the morrow, the ruined small shopkeepers, the disillusioned ex-servicemen and all who are dissatisfied.

Fascism seeks to find a mass basis on which to establish the dictatorship of capital, cynically and hypocritically making use of all the poverty and the scandalous affairs, which inevitably accompany the regime of capitalist exploitation. The fascist leaders use expressions directly borrowed from the vocabulary of the working class and their organizations. For example, Hitler christened his organization "National-Socialists", while the largest daily fascist newspaper in France is called *The Friend of the People.* What an insult to the memory of the great revolutionary, Marat!

However, the real masters of Colonel de la Rocque are de Wendel of the Comite des Forges and of the State Bank of France, Pozza du Borgo, Lehideaux, and other magnates of capital. The masters of the

fascist newspaper, founded by Coty and guided today by M. Taittinger, are the leaders of the largest banks and oil companies. Taittinger, the President of the Jeunesse Patriotes (Young Patriots League), is at the same time the leader of numerous capitalist undertakings, including also the Vyenne Energetics Amalgamation, which is connected with the big German A.E.G. trust (the German Electrical Company). The fascist magazine *Gringoire* is financed by the bank of the brothers Rothschild and the firm of the Grandfils de Wendel, who have two directors in the Bank of France.

It is therefore understandable that the fascist leaders, in spite of their anti-capitalist phraseology, always oppose the demands of the toiling people. Colonel de la Rocque opposes social insurance in the following way:

> "Interference by the state in charitable works renders the latter unpopular, unnecessary and harmful, however noble the considerations guiding it. Social insurance is a typical example in this respect. The guidance of insurance provided by the mutual help societies of the trade unions was based upon charity. When the Ministry of Labor swallowed up this work, it led to demoralization, prodigality and impotence." (Interview of de la Rocque published in the *Paris Midi.*)

A short time ago the Croix de Feu issued a poster approving of the emergency decrees dealing with pensions, and called upon ex-servicemen to submit to the emergency decrees.

The masses of the people feel more and more strongly that "this must all be changed". Then the fascist leaders come out with their program of so-called "corporativism".

The corporativists affirm that they can abolish the "excesses of capitalism" and ensure to every toiler "the just enjoyment of the fruits of his labor". Actually, however, the sharp edge of their policy is directed against the working class and against their emancipation, and is hidden behind phrases about solidarity between labor and capital, and hypocritical accusations concerning the abuses of capitalism. At the congress of the Jeunesse Patriotes which took place on April 5, 1935, the reporter made the following declaration:

> "That liberalism is bankrupt is a fact recognized by the whole world today. Since we are at the same time determinedly hostile to international Marxism, we must find some third formula and this is the system of controlled economy."

Here we recognize the lying phrases of Mussolini about "third economics". De la Rocque declares: "*I am a supporter not of regulated, but of controlled and sanctioned economics.*"

The fascists declare that "corporativism will take the place of incompetent, irresponsible, corrupt parliamentarism". They want to destroy all that is left of parliamentarism. They want to destroy all that is left of parliamentary democracy. They are fighting to destroy the workers' trade unions. It is to be regretted that corporativism

sometimes enjoys sympathy in circles which pretend to belong to the working class movement, for example the "planists" and their "leader", de Man. Traces of corporativism can be found in the plan drawn up by the General Confederation of Labor.

The masses of the people are indignant at the corruption among the ruling classes. The fascists, profiting from this corruption and being the agents of those who receive bribes, are trying to use the just indignation of the masses for their own ends. The fascist leaders cry out "Stop thief"; they talk about purity of morals, about the virtues. De Wendel, Nikola, Rothschild and Mercier, all mercenaries, write that after their advent to power, "*the French people will no longer be enslaved by the magnates and feudal lords of finance and industrial capital. The end of the magnates and plutocrats will at the same time be the end of inhuman speculation. This will be the end of the ancient tyrants, the tyrants who worship the golden calf.*"

The masses of the people are irritated by the group struggle which is tearing the country to pieces and weakening it in the face of the surrounding countries. Fascism, which mainly sows strife among the people, is trying to pretend that it is a uniting, reconciling factor.

Colonel de la Rocque, who is organizing stores of weapons with which to murder Frenchmen, declares:

> "It is painful to see how the blood of the French people is being shed in fratricidal battles." (Interview given to the *Petit Journal*, June 28, 1935.)

However, we know that 23 workers have been killed by fascists during the last 18 months.

> "I love the people, the peasants and workers of France first and foremost," said the leader of the Croix de Feu. "As blood-stained as beefsteaks", Jules Guesde would have added.

The fascists are trying to distort the national feelings of the people, which the Communists share, to convert them into a feeling of hatred towards other peoples. This does not prevent the fascist leaders from receiving orders from Berlin and Rome. A short time ago Bucard was photographed with Mussolini and at the time declared: "Salvation will come from Rome."

Academician Bertrand was present at the Hitler Congress in Nuremberg, and on October 6, 1935, he wrote the following in the *Franciste*:

> "In the hotel where we stayed, long rows of high boots stretched along the corridors as far as the eye could see."

No doubt this sight forced from him the following exclamation:

> "I can say quite sincerely that never in my life have I seen anything finer!"

The masses of the workers are suffering from poverty and are demanding bread, assistance and support during the heavy misfortunes they are living through. Fascism is trying to abuse the desires of these unfortunate people, by resorting to social demagogy.

The miserable attempts of the Croix de Feu to organize people's dining rooms even in the Communist districts of Paris are not yet forgotten. Incidentally we can call to mind how the unemployed reacted to this: every day they calmly presented themselves at the dining room, ate their portions, and afterwards demonstrated, singing the *Internationale*, with cries of "To the gallows with de la Rocque!" The Croix de Feu very soon dropped these dining rooms.

The Croix de Feu made their debut on the political arena by breaking up a pacifist meeting organized in the Trocadero Hall on November 28, 1931, where they were not sparing in their insulting attacks against Herriot, chairman of the meeting.

Chopine, one of the former leaders of the Croix de Feu, tells in his book *Ten Years Among the Croix de Feu* how de la Rocque entrusted him with the task of organizing a "spontaneous" expression of welcome at the St. Lazare station, when Laval returned from America in 1931. The fascists shouted: "Long live Laval! Down with Briand!"

Under the wing of the government armed bands have been afforded an opportunity of collecting together and arming themselves. They practised shooting and then began to arrange real civil war maneuvers. The Croix de Feu transport their detachments in lorries and motor-cars, and even by airplane.

The fascists are guilty of the murder of a number of workers, including Albert Perdreaux killed by the Jeunesse Patriotes on February 12, 1934, in Chaville; Joseph Fontaine, killed by the Camelots du Roi on April 11, 1934 in Henin Letiard. Jean Lamy, killed on May 15, 1934 by the Jeunesse Patriotes by order of the mutineer Trochu, leader of the National Front in Montargis; Paul de Jean, also killed in May 1935 by the Camelots du Roi in Toulouse; Marcel Cayla, killed in June 1935, by the Croix de Feu in Moissac. And the murderers of these comrades were either acquitted or sentenced to scandalously small punishments.

Many republicans have been insulted and a number dangerously wounded. One hundred and forty-two members of parliament, including all the members of the Communist fraction, figure in the fascist list of those "sentenced to death", who are liable to be killed.

Without doubt the activity of the working class and the pressure of the people have made it possible to achieve definite successes in the struggle against the fascist civil war leagues. We have in mind the laws passed whereby the Republican government has the right to dissolve these leagues; but we also know that we must not fall victims of any illusions on this score.

Only the activity of the masses can help us to secure the actual disarmament and dissolution of the fascist leagues.

The victory of the fascists in France would mean the economic and political destruction of the toiling masses. For the workers it would mean starvation wages, the prohibition and suppression of all resistance to the offensive of capital, the prohibition of strikes, the crushing of all our trade unions, and the dissolution of our co-operative societies; for office employees the victory of fascism in France would mean colossal reductions in wages, dismissals and arbitrary treatment by boards of

management. For shopkeepers and artisans, the victory of fascism would mean that they would be helpless in face of exploitation by big capital, the masters, trusts and transport companies, Messieurs Mercier of the electrical industries, and de Wendel from the Comite des Forges. For the peasants it would mean the sacrifice of their interests to those of the privileged sections of capitalist society—the monopolists and financial magnates; it would mean the complete ruin of their farms. The intellectuals would be persecuted; great scientists like Perrin and Langevin are already being outrageously attacked. On the lines of Hitler Germany, the victory of fascists would be the signal for a medieval auto-da-fe, the destruction of all liberties, the institution of bloody terror, the complete enslavement of the population; the fascists would imprison and kill working class fighters; they would persecute Communists, Socialists, Republicans and Democrats. As in Germany, the persecution of Jews would be followed by the persecution of Catholics and Protestants. The victory of fascism would be a catastrophe for the country and would strengthen reaction in Europe. The victory of fascism would mean war between peoples and the invasion of the Soviet Union.

At all costs we want to avoid these horrors, to prevent them from coming to our country and spreading throughout the world.

* * *

Thorez set forth a plan to save France, drawn up by the Communist Party. He dwelt in detail on the Party slogan: "Make the Rich Pay!" Further, Thorez said:

"The Party has never ceased fighting for the direct demands of all toilers—except during that period when the ruinous influence of the Barbé-Celor group operated in our ranks. . . . While the fascists only pretend to care about the everyday interests of the masses, the phrase-mongers from the so-called revolutionary Left wing of the Socialist Party are repeating the sectarian formula which we have already rejected: 'The time of the struggle for beefsteaks has passed!' Marceau Pivert writes that 'he no longer believes in the possibility of any sort of improvement while the forces of revolution do not hurl themselves against the foundations of capitalist society'. (*Le Populaire*, December 13, 1934.) The 'Leftist' chatterboxes do not know that under the leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks led the working class to power, the first slogan on their banner being the word 'Bread!' . . . The Communist Party makes the defense of the bread of the toilers the basis of its plan to save France.

"The Communists want to force the rich to pay. The two hundred families that rule France do not want to pay, and therefore they are sowing strife and conflict among the French people. The Communists are striving to unite the people of France, to secure real unity among all sections of the nation against these two hundred families."

Comrade Thorez said that the declaration made at the Party Conference at Ivry, "We love our country", was greeted with jeers and attacks against the Communist Party. Doriot set the tone for this concerted attack, having in a very short space of time traveled far along

the road of out-and-out treachery. The Communists have rejected internationalism, these people declared. Passionately repulsing these calumniators, Comrade Thorez said:

"We are internationalists and remain so. We are, and will remain, the brothers of Thaelmann and Gramsci in the fight against the Hitlers and Mussolinis and against the two hundred families who are plundering, ruining and disgracing our country. But must we just because of this suppress within ourselves the love we feel for our splendid country, must we relinquish the profound just attachment we have for the age-long past full of battles, suffering and glory? No, we are proud of the past magnificence of our country; we are proud of our great forefathers of the year 1793; we are proud of the February and June fighters of 1848, and we are proud of the heroes of the Commune."

Traitors of France are to be found among the ruling two hundred families and among those who serve them. The Communists are in favor of uniting the French people against these two hundred families and their fascist agents. The true reconciliation of the French people can be achieved only in the struggle against these two hundred families. The Communist Party is organizing this struggle.

Then Comrade Thorez described the history and the present situation of the working class united front and the people's anti-fascist front.

The last section of his report was devoted to the question of the situation of the Party.

We give here, somewhat abridged, the last three sections of Comrade Thorez' report.

* * *

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

In formulating its program of national unity, its plan to save the country, our Communist Party is not losing sight of the fact that the realization of this plan requires the unification of the forces of the working class first and foremost.

The French Communists always remember the words of Lenin:

> *"Unity among the proletariat is their most important weapon in the struggle for the socialist revolution."*

The Communists have never reconciled themselves to the split in the working class resulting from the position adopted in December 1920 by the minority of the Congress in Tours.

With the agreement of all its sections and federations, the Party by a majority of 3,208 mandates against 1,022, with 397 abstentions, then passed the decision to join the Comintern. At the same session of the Congress, immediately after the results of the voting had been declared, the leaders of the minority, the present leaders of the Socialist Party, invited "all delegates not in agreement with the resolution of the Tours Congress" to participate in another Congress. This was the cool manner in which the split was organized. Our Communist Party has fought incessantly to liquidate the split and once again unite all the toilers in

a united fighting front. For thirteen years we have vainly made proposals to the Socialist Party and its leadership. But hope has never left us. We have sincerely supported all attempts at unity. In 1932 we responded to the moving appeal of Henri Barbusse, whose death we now mourn, and Romain Rolland. It was with enthusiasm that we collaborated with the mighty Amsterdam Pleyel movement, whereby for the first time the united front of the working class was organized on a big scale, and which rallied round itself the best representatives of the intellectuals and the middle sections of society.

We were patient and insistent, thus, as Blum put it, making the formation of the united front "inevitable". I would say—"making dangerous" any further refusal to form the united front.

We were able to make concessions like desisting from criticizing those Socialist organizations and their leaders who were loyally taking part in joint activities; we did this in order to overcome the last obstacles, and to bring about that for which we had been striving for thirteen years.

THE WORKING CLASS UNITED FRONT

The united front, the united struggle of the working class, have already brought the toilers a great deal. They should enable us to achieve still greater results.

Above all the united front must be universal and active. It must be established throughout the whole country, just as much in places where the Communists are still weak as where they possess leading influence and have strong organizations.

The united front must not limit its work to organizing meetings. It must be based chiefly upon the struggle for the daily economic and political demands of the toilers. The united front must also include the organization and conduct of the most modest measures, and at the same time, it must also afford an opportunity of raising the struggle of the working class to a higher level, it must lead the workers to new forms of struggle and especially prepare for *a mass political strike* both with a view to resisting possible new attacks by fascism, and to secure satisfaction of the demands of the workers.

Finally, the united front must possess a firmly grounded organization if it is to be effective. The coordination committees should have been organized everywhere by the local and departmental organizations of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Moreover, the Communists must not drop their work of building up or consolidating united front committees which unite all the workers, organized and unorganized, in the rank-and-file organizations, and, chiefly, in the factories.

As the initiators and organizers of working class unity, the Communists must *on no account, under no guise,* reject the independent work of the Communist Party of spreading the propaganda of its views and slogans, or cease their own efforts to mobilize the toilers against the bourgeoisie and fascism. On no account must the Communists cease their criticism of viewpoints which are harmful to the interests of the work-

ing class, or of positions which contradict the spirit of united action.

Thus, for example, it would be causing harm to the working class, to the united front, and also to our Socialist comrades, if we did not unmask the splitting, counter-revolutionary, undermining, calumnious work of the Trotskyists, if we did not condemn the violations of the agreement, committed by the Socialist newspaper in the town of Roubaix, if we did not condemn the anti-Communist coalitions and blocs concluded in Alfortville and in Bourget.

In just the same way, our Party cannot hide from the working class the serious responsibility falling on the Socialist International for refusing three times in the course of three years to organize the united front on an international scale; the first time, when Hitler came to power in Germany, the second time when Cachin and I went to Brussels to negotiate with Vandervelde and Adler, at the time of the fascist drive in Spain and the uprising in Asturias; and the third time, on the eve of Mussolini's aggression against Ethiopia.

It is to be deplored that the most reactionary leaders of the Second International were successful in forcing the majority of the Socialist parties, who express sympathy towards the united front, to reject the proposals of the Comintern.

Incidently our Party is striving for something more than united action. On December 2, 1935, at a meeting in Bullier Hall, I announced a formula on behalf of the Central Committee, which fully expresses our will: "One class, one trade union, one party."

To those who previously rejected the united front under the pretext that first Party unity should be restored, we replied:

> *"We shall establish the united front, without demanding that each of us should reject those ideas which we consider just. Let us secure agreement for certain action, pursuing certain aims. United action frankly achieved will lead to complete unity."*

Today there is not the slightest doubt that in their struggle the Socialist workers have come closer to their Communist brothers.

On many questions the Socialist workers and some of the more prominent Socialist functionaries share our views today. First and foremost they are convinced supporters of united action. They categorically reject collaboration between classes and the "sacred alliance", they recognize the struggle for proletarian dictatorship; they declare themselves in favor of democratic centralism; they declare their sympathy for the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the toilers of the world.

Since last year our Party has taken upon itself the initiative of discussing the problem of a united working class party. Eight months ago, we even elaborated and handed the Socialist Party our draft charter of unity.

In this we were guided by the two-sided experiences of the international proletariat: on the one hand by the bitter experiences of the toilers of Germany and Austria, the majority of whom were under the influence of Social-Democracy, and are now under the yoke of fascism,

on the other hand, by the splendid experiences of the toilers of the Soviet Union, led by the Bolsheviks in their struggle to win power and to build socialism.

We consider that the united party should declare itself completely independent of the bourgeoisie and their parties, and should reject any support from the bourgeoisie, both in times of peace and in time of imperialist war; it must recognize the need for the violent overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship *in the form of Soviets;* it must be organized on the lines of the great Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Unfortunately, the administrative commission of the Socialist Party has not uttered its opinion on this question. Only yesterday we heard from an article by Leon Blum, written in a somewhat irritable tone, that our draft is not "a charter of a united party". But at the same time we know that many workers and Socialist functionaries approve our draft.

In *Le Populaire* of June 10, 1935, Comrade Zyromski's declaration at the Socialist congress was given in the following way:

> "The Communist Party has drawn up a draft charter, Zyromski does not give it his support without some objections. But he recognizes that this program is a big step forward, that the principles embodied in it do not contradict Socialist theory."

Zyromski spoke on behalf of the Socialist Party at a big joint meeting of Communists and Socialists of the Paris region, at which Jacques Duclos represented the Communist Party. For over a year now, we have been proposing that similar meetings should be arranged, as well as joint meetings between the Socialist sections and the Communist groups. All meetings of this kind have been splendid demonstrations of unity, which bring us closer to the creation of the united party of the working class than all the conversations among those at the top, the contents of which, in spite of our insistence, have not even been published.

We shall do everything to arrive at a united working class party capable of assuring the victory of the toilers.

We are supporting the efforts of the Young Communist League to create a united league of the toiling youth. In this connection we have pointed out that the Young Communist League would maintain complete freedom—quite independently to continue its work of mobilizing and organizing the youth.

THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

On October 9, 1934, two days after the first round of the cantonal elections, the representatives of the Communist Party, at a session of the co-ordination committee, after examining the first successful results of the agreement for united action, proposed to the Socialist delegates "to extend the agreement, to bring in fresh forces, and to work jointly to obtain trade union unity".

It cannot be said that we were given a particularly warm welcome. The next day, however, at the meeting in Bullier Hall, at which Com-

rade Zyromski was present, we explained our viewpoint to the toilers gathered together in the hall, in the following form:

> "We, Communists, are prepared to conduct this struggle in alliance with all those who put in the foreground the defense of the interests of the toiling masses in town and country.
>
> "We are prepared to help and support all real efforts directed towards the defense of democratic liberties, towards organizing resistance to the attacks of the fascist bands. We put forward the idea of widespread unity among the people.
>
> "We made a proposal to the Socialist Party to draw up a program of the united front demands of the people. Zyromski said that this was possible. All the better. *This will enable us to consolidate the alliance between the middle sections of society and the working class.*"

Fifteen days later, on the eve of the Congress of Radicals in Nantes, at a meeting which took place in the same town, I publicly repeated the following Communist Party proposal:

> "The action by the people, which we are proposing with a view to barring the way against fascism, can give rise to a mighty wave of enthusiasm throughout the country. We are prepared to apply all our strength to this task, and to support these demands so energetically that they will reach their goal even in the parliamentary sphere. Convinced of the fact that the thesis of a government of National Union is in direct contradiction to the convictions of all the toilers, we are prepared to set everything in motion to obtain the firm organization everywhere down to the smallest villages, of a broad people's front, led by the committees elected by the toilers, and making it possible to guarantee the victory of the cause of liberty and peace.
>
> "Our loyal appeal to all supporters of liberty will not remain without a response from the toilers following the Radicals as well. This is the wish we express, and we are sure that events tomorrow will, in the face of the front of reaction and fascism, make possible the formation of the people's front of liberty, labor and peace."

The people's front of liberty, labor and peace! Nine months later Comrade Delmass, secretary of the Teachers' Trade Union, who declared his adherence to this "great formula of the Communists", showed the Congress of Educational Workers which met in July 1935 the degree to which this formula had taken its hold on the masses, and what fresh energy it had communicated to them.

The radical newspaper *La Republique*, estimating the importance of this historic union between the proletariat and the middle section of society in their struggle against fascism, wrote the following on January 7, 1936:

> "The future generation should be grateful to the Communist Party for the tremendous role it played in forming the people's front."

It is well known that the people's front, which is being joined by many of those who were against it yesterday, met and still meets many opponents on its road. It is well known, for example, that the leaders of the Socialist Party, after a discussion which lasted for several months, rejected the program of immediate demands which was proposed. Trotskyist groupings are to this very day openly against the people's front, and, we say this frankly: they meet with no resistance on the part of some of the Socialist leaders.

However, the initiative displayed by our Communist Party, the campaign organized by it in the press, on posters, at meetings, from the platform of the Chamber of Deputies during big public discussions, and, finally, during the municipal elections, has met with the support of the workers and the toilers engaged in a small way, who hail the people's front as the road to their emancipation.

As far as the Communists are concerned, the people's front is not a case of accidental, temporary tactics.

This is one of the reasons for the toleration and persistence with which we have explained, argued and convinced, trying to overcome difficulties and obstacles on the road, and to achieve our goal. We shall continue in the same spirit, rejoicing even at the belated arrival of those workers who come to us at the last minute.

We are the Party of the proletariat, of the most exploited, the most monolithic, the most revolutionary class, which can achieve its emancipation only by completely transforming the social structure of society. Our Party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, is alone capable of pursuing a consistent policy, the splendid results of which can be observed in the Soviet Union. It is quite another thing with our friends and allies. The small trading and agrarian bourgeoisie hate capital and, chiefly, the bankers who dispense credits; however, they believe in the eternal existence of their property and even in the possibility of rounding it off. The representatives of the liberal professions, the middle and higher officials have prejudices and illusions of another kind. They think that modern society can be improved gradually and by peaceful means.

> "The whole essence of the class position and strivings of the petty bourgeoisie consists in the fact that they want the impossible and strive after the impossible, *i.e.*, after such a 'middle course'." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, p. 537.)

The parties and groupings, which base themselves upon the middle classes, inevitably reflect the illusions and prejudices of the latter. They cannot conduct a consistent policy. They are constantly wavering. We must try to prove to them that the success of the people's front can be assured only to the degree that the toiling non-proletarian masses rally around the working class.

Our Communist Party, trained in the school of Lenin and Stalin, made it possible for the working class of France to avoid the dual mistake committed by Jaures and Guesde, during the period of the Dreyfuss case.

Indeed, Jaures who was under the thumb of petty-bourgeois democracy did not sufficiently care for the direct interests of the working class and in the independence of their party, and supported the liberal bourgeoisie in the struggle against the reactionary bourgeoisie, which based itself upon the church and army headquarters.

As for Guesde, who lacked tactical flexibility, he kept somewhat aloof from the struggle which set considerable masses of the people in motion.

Our Communist Party refuses to regard all petty-bourgeois elements as a single mass of reactionaries, refuses to consider that on the chessboard of modern society there are only two forces confronting each other, two big armies, the army of the bourgeoisie and the Socialist army. This would be a simplified view of things.

The people's front is an organization of all toilers who are exploited by capital and menaced by fascism. The people's front, under the powerful influence of the Communist Party, has gone into battle so as to bar the way against fascism, untiringly drawing into this struggle ever new masses and sections of society even though they do not belong to the proletariat, but are drawn to the latter because it is the force uniting all the anti-fascist forces and the organizer of the victory of the people over their enemies.

Our collaboration in one people's front has brought forth fruits, and enables us to nourish great hopes for the future. The discordant voices of a number of Radical leaders and parliamentary deputies, as, for example, Malvy, Potu, Martinaud, Desplat, and other Paganons, could not weaken the good state of harmony between the Communist workers and the Radical peasants.

The people's front is the working class, influencing the toiling middle sections of the population by their activities, and drawing them into the struggle against the bourgeoisie, against capital and fascism.

Some of our Socialist comrades think that our Party would be inclined to take part in governments like those which we have seen in Austria and Germany, and the results of whose period in power are well known to us.

Let us repeat once more, that as far as we are concerned, in conditions when there is an intensification of political crisis and there is a development of the activity of the masses, a government of the people's front will be a government which will liquidate the fascist menace by disarming and securing the real dissolution of the armed bands, a government which will make the rich pay and put bounds upon the dictatorship of the big banks; a government relying for the realization of its two-fold task upon the activities of the masses outside parliament, upon the organization of the people's front committees. This government will provide full possibilities for agitation and propaganda, and for the organization and activity of the working class and its Communist Party.

To those who consider that the people's front tactics must lead us to a vulgar policy of governmental collaboration, we reply most definitely as follows: *We are not a party of the bourgeoisie, but the Party of*

the working class. We have never promised to participate in a bourgeois government. We are fighting for Soviet power. We have said—and our actions confirm and will confirm, our words—"*that we are prepared both in the Chamber of Deputies and in the country to support all measures capable of saving the franc, to ensure the energetic suppression of speculation, to support the interests of the toiling population, to defend democratic liberties, as well as the disarmament and dissolution of the fascist leagues, and the maintenance of peace*". (Declaration made by the representatives of the Communist group at a meeting of the Left fraction in the Chamber of Deputies, held in June 1935.)

This means that as long as conditions do not allow of the formation of a government of the people's front—in the way we understand it—we have decided to give our votes in support of any Left government which puts into practice a program corresponding to the interests and the will of the French people.

Today, the people's front unites considerable masses of workers and peasants, government officials and intellectuals, but its organization is still extremely weak. Often only committees exist consisting of representatives of the different groupings belonging to the people's front. In collaborating with our Socialist comrades, we must secure everywhere the election of rank-and-file committees at mass meetings of the people. Today, there are 1,500 Amsterdam Pleyel committees in existence, about 1,000 women's committees and several hundred youth committees. This is far from sufficient. What is needed is that a stable organization of the people's front of labor, liberty and peace should be set up in every village and in every enterprise.

With the collaboration of the Laval-Fabry government, the fascist groupings are developing a systematic offensive with a view to using the army for its own bloody purposes. Reactionary Royalist and fascist elements are squeezing out the Republican officers at army headquarters and among the senior officers. In the barracks, as Dewez pointed out from the platform of the Chamber of Deputies, the fascist organizations spy on the sons of workers and peasants.

The people's front must take up the defense of the Republican officers and soldiers, sons of the people. It must support them against the Generals and Royalists and fascist officers. It must support the committees set up in the army to defend the republic and the constitution.

As for us, we, obviously, remain determined opponents of militarism. We are fighting to secure the satisfaction of the demands of, and in defense of the rights of, the soldiers, sailors, non-commissioned officers, and officers who are true to the republic. We fight against the agents of reaction and fascism. During the last debates in the Chamber of Deputies, we alone protested against the restoration of the two-years' term of army service, and exposed the propaganda of the fascist organization in the army, while the Socialist orators kept silent.

THE PARTY

We know full well that the French working class would never have

had an agreement on united action, that the people's front would never have been created, that fascism might have set up its foul dictatorship, if, during the 15 years of our work and struggle, we had not succeeded in organizing a Communist Party sufficiently strong and sufficiently worthy of the ever-growing confidence of the vast masses, by virtue of its political acumen, its ability to fight and its enthusiasm.

Today the Party has trebled its membership, has almost 100,000 members, and has become one of the basic factors in the political situation of France. It is becoming to an ever greater and greater degree the leader of the working class, being the recognized inspirer of the broad anti-fascist movement. Now all friends and opponents, allies and enemies, listen attentively to the Party, its leaders, its organizations and its newspapers.

All this did not come about of itself. We had to work and carry on a fight even in our own ranks in order to make the Party capable of carrying out its historic task of uniting and organizing the toilers.

Many questions which seem simple enough today were far from clear to everybody at the time when the Central Committee of our Party first raised them.

The united front, the people's front, the feeling of attachment for our country, the true unification of France—all these questions, already old or still quite new, had to be explained and interpreted by the Central Committee, without permitting any distortions or opportunist interpretations.

On the ideological front, we boldly deprived our enemies of the things which they had stolen from us and trampled under foot. We took back the *Marseillaise* and the tricolor banner of our fathers—the soldiers of the year II. We have taken back the lines about freedom and turned against the fascists—the enemies of the French people—the words of Rouget de l'Isle:

> "Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras
> Egorger nos fils, nos compagnons."*

The operation of our general political line required constant vigilance on the part of the Party and its Central Committee. The constant struggle on two fronts has become more and more fierce, for the danger of deviations has grown.

Of course, the general conditions which guarantee the rise of the mass movement and the success of the Communist Party are characteristic of the whole of France. In a number of regions, however, a special situation may and does exist, and this obliges us to apply the general line of our Party thoughtfully and flexibly, to fight against stock arguments, against ready-made schemes and empty formulas. It is clear, however, that our policy is true on the whole for the whole country.

However, it should be stated that our successes are extremely uneven in different regions and counties.

Take, for example, the Marseilles district, which is one of those areas where the Party has gained the greatest successes. And yet the situation was hopeless in Marseilles for many years. All the efforts

* They approach us in order to put our sons, our friends, to death.

of the Central Committee led to no change. We were told: "You don't know Marseilles. Marseilles is the French Chicago. The port brings into existence so much that is rotten, that like gangrene corrodes everything, including the working class." Of course, we refused to agree to this. We sent Comrade Billoux there. You know the results: the proletariat of Marseilles are always in the front ranks of the anti-fascist struggle, and tens of thousands take part in the demonstration there. The dockers have conducted a number of big strikes which ended in victory. Thanks to the Communist Party which obtained 16,000 votes in Marseilles at the municipal elections against only 6,000 in 1929, the position of Mayor of the town of Marseilles has been wrenched away from the adventurer, Sabiani.

The Party achieved considerable successes throughout the district during the canton elections, and afterwards—during the municipal elections. Our candidates was elected for the first time in one of the cantons of Marseilles. The workers of the Toulon arsenal elected Bartholini to the Chamber of Deputies. The weekly newspaper *The Red South* appears in three editions with a circulation of 14,000 copies. The membership of our Marseilles organization has increased from 1,500 to 6,000, including in the town of Marseilles itself an increase from 200 to 1,000. There are 2,000 members of the Young Communist League, where, two years ago, there were only 500.

We all understand that this is the result of the work of Comrade Billoux and the faithful band of active workers whom he was able to draw into the work.

Take another example. For a long time now the Party has been enjoying considerable influence in Ivry. For over ten years we have held the mayoralty in Ivry. A number of good comrades including, for example, Comrade Marrane, worked there faithfully. However, there were less than 200 members in the Ivry Party organization, although the Party could mobilize 6,000 votes there.

The district committee elected a new secretary, Comrade Mabille. Before a year had passed, the membership had increased to 670. The collection of funds towards the "soldiers' penny" amounted to 6,700 francs in a town numbering only 50,000 inhabitants. Our little weekly newspaper has a circulation of 5,000 copies, almost all of which are sold in the canton, which has a total number of only 130,000 inhabitants.

But let us look at another type of work. In St. Etienne the influence of our Party has grown considerably as a result of the successful work of our active Party members led by Comrade Ramier. We have in mind the *help for the unemployed, defense of the soldiers, and the anti-fascist struggle.* At the municipal elections, 15 of our comrades were elected on the people's front list, which, thanks to our tactics, met with complete victory. However, the local Party organization has not, as yet, grown to correspond with its influence. Its numbers are increasing very slowly. The circulation of the weekly paper there has even decreased, and *l'Humanite* is not read there. Is it not clear that the theory of letting things slide has the upper hand here, and that (despite the valuable advice and assistance offered to the local organization by

Comrade Frachinas) there is not carried out in a Bolshevik manner the organizational work without which the successes we have achieved cannot be consolidated, nor any new successes achieved. Here we find a weakness which is extremely widespread in our Party organizations.

We, French Communists, are obliged, especially in the organizational sphere, to apply all our efforts and, literally, to perform miracles in order to liquidate the chief weakness of our working class movement. This obligation is especially emphasized in the greetings of the Communist International to our Congress.

Let us examine, finally, a last example referring to Party organizations. As far as we can see, this is the most lamentable example. Our organization in the Lower Seine region is making very little progress. And yet the conditions of the working class there, and their militant past, permit us to demand more. At the session of the Central Committee in February of last year, a devastating picture was unfolded of the poverty of the toilers in that district. Strikes frequently break out there, distinguished for their militant character. A short time ago the dockers of Rouen won a victory after a courageous struggle.

In Havre, the anti-fascist struggle has always been waged with great enthusiasm. However, the size of the Party organization, and the influence of the Party, do not grow or grow very little. Forty-five delegates were present at the regional conference. The small county of Picardy, which formerly was so weak, held a brilliant conference attended by 150 delegates. More than one district of average importance held a conference attended by more delegates than were present at the regional conference of the Lower Seine, where the Party organization still adheres to its sectarian line, and where petty feuds and quarrels have not yet been successfully lived down.

What is the explanation of such a situation in a county where a member of the Central Committee is at work? Merely that Comrade Courtade has not yet organized his own work and still less the work of his comrades, and herein lies the main task of the present leader.

The question of cadres is of decisive importance. Without doubt, our Party has achieved successes in the training and selection of its active workers. In the Central Committee we have learned how to become better acquainted with people. We have made a systematic study of our cadres, and this has enabled us not only to discover the best of our active Party workers, but also to expose class enemies and provocateurs, who have managed to worm their way into our ranks.

However, not only the Central Committee must occupy itself with this work. The whole Party, all its committees, all its organizations must ensure the training and selection of cadres.

If the comrades are inadequately experienced, insufficiently trained to fulfil the tasks which confront every Communist, then it is our duty to train them, and we are responsible for this work. The Party has many new and young members. It is not surprising, therefore, that a number of questions get repeated and are raised anew. We must, therefore, know how to answer questions, to explain the Party policy, and not hurry to label as opportunist or sectarian, any comrade who allows

himself to indulge in criticism. The life of the Party, its daily bread, lie in criticism and self-criticism. There must be no whimpering or false mutual condemnation, but Bolshevik publicity of what is good and what is bad in our work. It is important openly to recognize mistakes, and what is most important, to know how to correct them, by seeking out the deep inner causes, in order to avoid their repetition.

Our *educational work* must be increased. Numerous schools are already training our active Party members. However, in view of the fact that many comrades cannot attend school for a number of reasons, we must improve other forms of educating and theoretically training our cadres. We should arrange exchanges of opinion on definite questions, and distribute our literature widely. The Party has published, or rather re-published, and works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. We have printed a large number of books and pamphlets. We must welcome, as a great event, the appearance of the book entitled *A la Lumiere du Marxisme* (*In the Light of Marxism*), in which a group of scientists, including Professor Langevin, tell us of how they are pushing science forward on the basis of their knowledge and study of the works of Marx and Lenin.

Of all French political magazines, the circulation of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* alone exceeds that of the *Cahiers du Bolshevisme*, which is regularly sold in 4,000 copies.

The magazine *Commune*, the groups of friends of the Commune, the House of Culture where Aragon is working with such success—all these are successful and fruitful beginnings.

L'Humanite enjoys deserved authority. Under the leadership of our dear Marcel Cachin, who is assisted by Vaillant-Couturier, it has become the largest newspaper of the people's front, one of the sharpest weapons of the working class and the Communist Party.

L'Humanite can be proud of the variety and high level of the contents of its pages, devoted to general political questions and international life, of its workers' department, of the different questionnaires it runs, of the quantity and quality of its collaborators, of its Sunday literary page which is an honor to our Party. Yes, and how can the Communist proletariat fail to be proud when they read Andre Gide in their newspaper, a man who has achieved the heights of bourgeois art, and is now seeking and finding in communism the answers to questions which have tortured him in the past?

The greatness of *l'Humanite* lies in its militant contents, its imposing circulation, the quality of the editorial work and the experience of the leaders, but to an equal degree also it lies in the number of its voluntary contributors—workers and peasants, in the multitude of its propagandists and salesmen, who are examples of such valuable and moving loyalty. The Congress must express its heartiest thanks to the members of "*l'Humanite* Defense Committee", the leading members of the Party cells, who—often at the cost of big sacrifices—succeed in distributing, and contribute to the success of our *l'Humanite*.

We are also witness to a splendid advance in the Young Communist League. The policy of the Barbé group reduced the League to the level

of an impotent sect. The Young Communist League, which in the first years of its existence was able to lead a courageous and fruitful struggle against imperialism and militarism, and in defense of the toiling youth, weakened considerably during this period.

The Young Communist League, which the Central Committee and the Party are assisting, and which Guyot, a tried and capable comrade, is now leading, has become a big organization. Its membership has increased from 3,500 to 30,000. Its weekly newspaper, *l'Avangarde*, with its circulation of 40,000 is the only paper of its kind in existence. It does honor to the Young Communist League and the whole of our Party. The Young Communist League has grown in the anti-fascist struggle, in the struggle for the future of the French youth, exploited by 200 families, in the struggle for unity among the toiling youth, in the struggle for the triumph of the principles of Lenin and Stalin. The Young Communist League, an organization independent of the Party, is educating its members and active workers in the spirit of complete confidence in the Party and its Central Committee.

The Party achieved big success at the canton elections in 1934 and at the municipal elections of last year. The Communists are at the head of one-third of all the communes of the Seine department, which is among the most densely populated, and at the same time, among the poorest. In Seine-et-Oise, in the North, in the Pas-de-Calais, in the Gard, and in a number of other departments, the number of Communist mayoralties has considerably increased. Our banner now waves over big towns, for example over the town of Villeurbanne, with its 80,000 inhabitants, and which has offered its hospitality to the present Eighth Congress of the Party. Villeurbanne has been won for the Party, as a result of the loyalty and faithfulness of our deceased Comrade Grand Clement. Our banner waves over many towns and villages in France.

We are on the eve of the elections to the Chamber of Deputies. A big political fight is ahead, between the two forces which divide France, between the people's front on the one hand, and the front of reaction and fascism, on the other. The Communist Party hopes to play an active part in ensuring the victory of the people's front.

To this end, in the first round of elections the Party will conduct a struggle for its own program, for its own candidates. In general outline, the draft of our program, presented for confirmation to the Congress, has been expounded in the present report. It will be the Communist program of struggle for bread, peace and liberty; the Communist program of national reconciliation in the struggle against the financial oligarchy and its fascist bands; the program to save the country, something which we shall achieve by making the rich pay; the Communist program of struggle for a strong, free, peaceful France.

In the second round of the elections we shall vote, on the basis of mutual support, for Socialist candidates in those cases where, in the first round, they receive a larger number of votes than our own candidates; and if necessary, then, in order to defeat the representatives of reaction and fascism, we shall vote for those Radical candidates who sincerely adhere to the people's front.

It must be said that on no account shall we vote for people who gave their votes to Laval. In our opinion, this, as a general rule, should be observed in Alsace as well.

The election campaign must lead to new successes in recruiting new members, and *in our Party* and mass organization work. In order to spread widely our program and manifesto, to get posters up, prepare meetings, support our propagandists and candidates, and collect money, we must arouse great organizational activity, boldly drawing sympathizers, women and the youth, into the election committees of the Communist Party. In order to ensure the success of the candidates of the people's front in the second round, we must create united front organizations and people's front committees in the factories and villages.

Our Party has proved that it know what it wants. It has also proved that it does what it says, and says what it does.

On the way to Lyons yesterday, Cachin and I stopped at a little place called Morvan. We noticed that the new leaflets of our Party had been stuck up on the walls. Hardly had we seated ourselves in one of the restaurants when we were given a note in which was written: "Comrades, can you see the secretary of our cell just for a minute?"

There were Communists who recognized us even in such a distant corner of the country. They told us with what joy they are conducting their work and cultivating the virgin soil in the villages. They distribute leaflets and post up manifestos; they showed us the latest parcel they had received that morning. They had already organized one cell and were now organizing new ones on the outskirts of the village. They intended forming a group of Young Communists.

We were happy and proud, Marcel and I. There are thousands and tens of thousands of people in the country who, unnoticed, faithfully carry out their Party work. The thoughts and the gratitude of the Congress should be turned to them at the present moment.

Never before has the Party leadership had at its disposal such a constellation of tried fighters, beloved of the working class.

Marcel Cachin, our respected leader, whose words are ardent, whose pen is courageous, is a living example for us of loyalty to the Party and the Communist International.

Andre Marty, the hero of the Black Sea, now called upon to fulfil honorable duties in the Executive Committee of the Comintern.

Jacques Duclos, the best propagandist and leader of the Communist agitators, the author of our manifesto and of our leaflets which enjoy such great success.

Marcel Gitton—although a young leading member, yet still with a wealth of experience—who has been chosen by the Communists of Paris to lead their organization.

Benoit Frachon—pioneer and fighter for trade union unity, who enjoys the deserved confidence of the united trade unions and will become one of the leaders of the united General Confederation of Labor.

Monmousseau, Midol, Semard, Racamond—old fighters, tried in trade union battles, the pride of our Communist Party.

Rematt, Secretary of the Northern regional committee and inspirer of our parliamentary fraction.

Ferrat—leader of our Party's colonial work.

Billoux, Decaux, Rosenblatt, secretaries of regional committees, who are equal to their honorable task as organizers and leaders of masses.

Fajon, who leads our Party schools with such success.

And how many more names! It would take too long to enumerate them all.

Allow us to greet the oldest members of our Party present in this hall from among those who took part in the Tours Congress and were among the majority who passed the decision to affiliate to the Comintern: Nicod, Mayor of d'Oyonnax, former deputy; Gourdeaux, Secretary of the United Postal Workers' Union; Renaud Jean, who will make a report on the peasant question from this platform; Daniel Renoult, whose speech at the Tours Congress played such a great role.

But, in the long run, the working class of France owe their great success in the struggle against reaction and fascism to the Communist International of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Our Party owes its successes and its growth to the Comintern and its Bolshevik General Staff.

We, who have come together at Lyons once more, 12 years after the death of Lenin, wish on behalf of our monolithic Party, to express our heartiest thanks to the Communist International and to assure it once more of our unshakable loyalty.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern did our Party a great honor when it approved and praised its policy. This puts obligations upon it. We must do *more* and do still *better*. We must go further ahead and more rapidly. We must carry on our work until we achieve the complete unity of the working class, unity in the struggle of the French people.

By making the rich pay, we must lessen the want of the poor, give work and bread to the workers and their families, save French agriculture, and secure prosperity and happiness for our country. We must give assistance to children in need, free women from their slavery, open up before the French youth new vistas of a life of labor and joy in the future.

We must check the decline of French culture and make possible, thanks to the very rich treasure of Marxism-Leninism, a new blossoming of literature, art, and science in the service of the people.

We must defend the people's liberties, we must fight for peace and in defense of the Soviet Union against fascism and reaction.

In a word, we must secure the salvation of our country.

We must, and shall, do this, if we pursue our policy of *unity* persistently, and in particular if we can better and better organize the recruiting of new members, organize the united front, organize people's front committees, organize ever broader masses and bring them into the organizational work.

Forward, under the mighty and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

Forward, for the victory of the united front of labor, liberty and peace!

Forward for the French Soviet Republic!

Long live the Communist Party of France!

Long live the Communist International and its General Secretary, Comrade Dimitroff!

Long live our great and beloved Stalin!

Long live the free, strong and happy France, which the Communists want to and will build!

(The delegates rise. Shouts of "Hurrah!" Continuous ovation. The delegates sing the "Internationale".)

Some Questions Concerning the Policy of Developing Party Cadres

By A. KRAEVSKY

AFTER the historic decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern, when the problem of fighting for the masses was posed in a new fashion, the problem of Party cadres has acquired exceptionally great importance. Comrade Dimitroff raised this question in its full scope in his concluding speech at the Seventh Congress.

Only a party which is able to train strong, united, disciplined, ideologically steeled Party cadres can rise to the heights of the tremendous tasks which confront us, can lead the masses in their millions into the struggle to overthrow the power of capital. These masses are now in motion; they are beginning to turn to us. Our cadres must be able to penetrate into the very heart of these masses to take a sober account of the degree to which they have matured, of their fighting capacity, and skilfully to lead them, on the basis of their own experiences, to ever new, higher tasks. On the other hand, our cadres must be able not only to teach the masses, but also to learn from them; they must feel the subterranean processes which are going on among the masses, must take note of all the new forms of struggle which arise in the battles that take place against capital, must grasp every example of initiative which comes from below. Only cadres of this kind glow in battles, only this kind of leaders grow into real leaders of the people.

The question of cadres is the more acute since the overwhelming majority of our parties are working in the most severe underground conditions, and a considerable section of our cadres—the most valuable—are constantly being lost in the struggle, for, as Comrade Dimitroff pointed out, we "are not a learned society but a militant movement which is constantly in the firing line". Fascism is working for the physical annihilation of our cadres, and thus the question of safeguarding and preserving the cadres we have, and of training new forces capable of taking the place of those who are lost, is a question of tremendous importance.

But what are the conditions in which real Bolshevik cadres grow up, are trained, and become steeled for the struggle?

The answer is: only in an atmosphere of loyalty to the great teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, only in the irreconcilable struggle for the purity of the teachings of Lenin, in the struggle on two fronts, in an atmosphere of Bolshevik mass policy, do firm Bolshevik cadres, real leaders of the working class and of the whole of the toiling people, grow up!

Such cadres are not educated and developed by a party which neg-

lects revolutionary theory, which is tainted with rotten liberalism as regards deviations from Leninism. All the mass work of such a party is opportunist through and through, for it does not fight to keep its line untainted, for it besmirches its political face.

Neither does a party train Bolshevik cadres which declares itself true to Marxism-Leninism in words, but which in practice only repeats formulae it has learned without examining the concrete situation in which the party is operating, without conducting a consistent, stubborn struggle to win the masses, without conducting a truly Bolshevik mass policy.

Only the party which combines the greatest ideological irreconcilability with the greatest flexibility in the struggle to win the masses can develop cadres capable of standing at the head of the revolutionary struggle of the whole of toiling mankind.

It would, however, be a great mistake to imagine that these general conditions, and if favorable grounds exist for the party to develop new cadres, that the tasks facing the Communist Party in this field are exhausted and things can be left to take their own course. On the contrary, all that exists here is a basis for pursuing a planful and steadfast *policy concerning cadres*. What is more, unless systematic, consistent work is done to develop cadres the opposite phenomenon can easily arise, namely that the weakness of the Party's cadres, their inadequate maturity, will in actual practice delay the prosecution of the correct Bolshevik Party line. It is not for nothing that Comrade Stalin has warned us:

> "After the correct line has been given, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on the manner in which the work is organized, on the organization of struggle for the application of the line of the Party, on the proper selection of workers, on supervising the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading organs. Without this the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being severely damaged. More than that, after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, *i.e.*, whether it is fulfilled or not."*

In his speech at the Seventh Congress, Comrade Dimitroff indicated the chief points in the Bolshevik policy of the development of cadres.

The chief element of the policy of the development of cadres is the *study of the people one deals with*. Meanwhile it is no secret that the work of our Communist Parties along this line has not yet been properly developed. Not only is no study made of the new forces being promoted, but even such a party as the Communist Party of France, a party to which Comrade Dimitroff made particular reference and which has achieved comparatively big successes in this field during the last few years, has as yet no real knowledge of its basic leading cadres. And yet in parties which are working in legal conditions, this task is comparatively easy. In the illegal parties where there are tremendous losses among our cadres, where the young fresh forces grow up in conditions of ferocious

* See *Socialism Victorious*, Stalin, "Report of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.", pp. 78-79, International Publishers, New York.

terror, in the most profound underground conditions, this task is comparably more difficult. All the more persistent, then, must be our work of making a study of our people—without which there can be no promotion and development of new forces—and all the more intolerable is the situation when such a study of our cadres is either completely lacking or is carried on insufficiently.

Only by making a systematic study of our cadres can we ensure that they are correctly selected. Here first and foremost the question arises of *strengthening the proletarian framework* of the Party organization, of regulating its social composition. The Party must work systematically to establish contacts with all the most important factories, to make every factory a Bolshevik fortress, to have a strong Party organization there.

But only such an organization as arranges the work so that the masses, at every step, feel that it exists, is a truly Bolshevik unit. The unit must know how to express the moods and the needs of the workers, must know how to mobilize them for action in every conceivable way, using every ground, every conflict—economic or otherwise—for the purpose.

The Party organization in the factory must be able to surround itself with a whole network of various mass organizations—political, economic, cultural. It must encourage their formation, it must work in the existing mass organizations (first and foremost in the trade unions). It must also penetrate into the organizations of the class enemy and work inside them. This, of course, is connected with tremendous difficulties, above all for the illegal parties. But for the illegal parties as well, these methods of work are of vital importance. Only in such conditions does the Party acquire a broad field on which it can operate. On the other hand, in these conditions it can the more easily keep its work conspirative, for by obtaining a broader field of operation, it can maneuver flexibly, calling on all sympathizers, all who belong to the organization, to undertake different kinds of activities, without these people even knowing (provided the work is arranged properly) who actually belongs to the Party unit which has drawn them into this or that form of activity. We must operate according to the exemplary advice given by Lenin in a conversation with comrades: "Where three balalaika* players come together to play, the fourth should be a Bolshevik."

We must not make a mechanical approach to the question of recruiting workers into the Party. The question of increasing the organizational work of the Communist Party, of liquidating the organizational backwardness of our Sections in relation to the tremendous political tasks which confront them, has been raised more than once. We have frequently and very convincingly proved that our comrades do not know how to carry on agitation concretely and win workers capable of influencing the masses, that they do not know how to make use in their agitation of all those daily facts which, of course, exist in abundance, and which the Bolshevik Party always so masterfully utilized in its agitation. But, although there was a great amount of truth in the instructions we gave,

* Balalaika—a Russian string instrument.

our arguments had a poor effect and things went forward extremely slowly. Of course, the main reason was that all our work suffered from many sectarian features. Only now, after the decisions of the Seventh Congress, when the struggle for the united front has been raised in a new fashion, when we have set ourselves the task of fighting for the masses in a new fashion, of overcoming the split in the working class, when we are beginning to find a common tongue with very wide masses for the struggle against the class enemy, when we are finding the road to the Social-Democratic workers—only now do the political pre-conditions exist which ensure that our recruiting among the workers will give mass results. The growth of the Communist Party of France and of a number of other parties in the Comintern on the basis of operating the line of the Seventh Congress is a clear example of this.

However, it is not enough to raise the question of the proletarian framework of the party in a general way: we must have strong contacts with the workers of the *leading, basic*, branches of industry of the given country, of the given district, of the given locality. Without a stubborn fight in this direction of course we shall not have leading organs which reflect contact with the leading branches of industry. This is all the more difficult because the Communists are trailed most of all in these branches of industry—even in countries where the Communist movement is legal. It is enough for a Communist to expose himself and he is immediately thrown out of the factory, not to mention the risk of being arrested. Thus, for example, if in Germany (before Hitler came to power) out of 918 members of the district committees elected in May 1931, 849 were working in factories, *i.e.*, 92.5 per cent (including 337 persons, *i.e.*, over 35 per cent, in big enterprises), in August 1932, of the same number of workers, only 218, *i.e.*, 23.7 per cent were employed, including only 99, *i.e.*, 10 per cent, in big enterprises, while 467 persons, *i.e.*, over half were unemployed.

But of course the question cannot be reduced to that of factory units. Here what is wanted is the maximum flexibility in organizational forms, and a sober estimate of the peculiarities of the given concrete situation. The methods of the organizational work of underground parties cannot, of course, be identical with the methods of work of the legal parties. We must always remember what the resolutions of the Tenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. teach us on questions of Party structure. The first point in the resolution reads as follows:

> "The Party of revolutionary Marxism radically denies all searching after an absolutely correct form of party organization and equally of methods for its work absolutely suited to all stages of the revolutionary process. On the contrary, the form of organization and the methods of work are entirely determined by the peculiarities of the given, concrete historical situation and the tasks which directly arise out of this situation."

Without for one moment belittling the tremendous importance of the struggle to establish units in the factories, we would be making an enormous mistake if we failed to understand the need for securing a

foothold for ourselves in the mass organizations of all types. If we take present-day Germany, for example, it becomes clear that we must also penetrate into all the existing mass organizations. Here all kinds of sectarian resistance must be overcome. For example, two of our comrades declared themselves in favor in principle of working inside the fascist factory groups, but refused to accept leadership in them because they would be obliged to wear uniforms with two stars on their collars. Is it not clear that in this case sectarian outlook is hindering the development of Bolshevik mass work?

Those comrades who carry on work in the mass fascist organizations soon become convinced that it brings forth big results. Thus, a woman Communist, who became a cashier in the fascist Labor Front, made contacts with a number of people from whom she collected subscriptions. Another comrade who undertook the task in the Labor Front of distributing the fascist newspaper *Angriff* also in this way made contacts with other anti-fascist members of the Labor Front. Such "legal opportunities" exist even in a country such as fascist Germany with its ferocious terror. We must only know how to make use of them, as the Party of Bolsheviks made skilful use of all "legal opportunities" under tsarism, bearing in mind, of course, the specific features of fascist underground conditions.

In Japan, where the Communists are also working in the most profound underground conditions, and where all the Left mass organizations have been dissolved, the capitalist press reported the following case: at the big Nakadzima airplane construction works, a worker taking advantage of the fact that there were a number of workers employed there who hailed from the same district, organized a group of fellow townsmen, which became the nucleus which later formed an organization called The Revolutionary Press Readers' Society. The Society was divided into three groups, with over 30 persons in each group. And the Communists carried on their work through this society.

It is essential to safeguard the proletarian framework of the Party. But even in the advanced capitalist countries this is not all: we must have cadres who can make strong contacts with the poor peasantry, with the intellectuals, with the poor of the towns, etc. This is the more essential in those countries where the peasant population predominates and especially in the countries of the East, in the colonies, where work among the toiling masses of the nations oppressed by imperialism requires cadres who understand the needs of these masses, who can talk to them in a language they can understand, etc. To train cadres of this kind requires stubborn, systematic work.

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Only by making a systematic study of people at their work can we establish which of the Party workers acquit themselves well, which of them cope with the work entrusted to them, and thus we can correctly approach the question of promoting cadres.

But the question of promoting cadres, of course, does not consist

merely of advancing definite, already existing, leading Party workers from one post to another.

The basic question of promoting cadres is that of boldly utilizing *new* young forces from among the masses, from all kinds of mass organizations which exist around the Party or have been set up by us. It is especially now that new people are coming to us from all sides. The Party must opportunely seek out, find, and bring into the organization every honest energetic worker who displays initiative, who has displayed his activity, and is connected with the masses, and give him definite work to do. After a certain necessary period of trial and Bolshevik education the Party must help him to advance still further, solicitously raising his political level, and cultivating him "as a gardener cultivates his favorite fruit tree".

It is essential, moreover, to make a skilful approach to each person, to know how to make use of him and develop his special qualities.

Our attitude should be different towards the young working man or woman who has come forward during a strike as a capable organizer, a leader of the masses. We have a different approach to the Social Democratic worker or official, whom the trend of events has convinced that the Communists are right. Our attitude is different to the intellectual who declares himself desirous of joining the Party. In each of these cases our methods of testing, assimilating, utilizing, and promoting new forces will be different. And the Party working in legal conditions will work differently from the Party in illegal conditions.

Here the question arises of *old and new cadres*. Bold initiative in drawing in new cadres on no account means that the role of the old cadres must be reduced. True, a certain section of the old cadres not infrequently drop out when sharp historical turns take place, proving unable to cope with the new tasks, but in the main the old cadres are most valuable Party capital, which must be carefully safeguarded.

However, side by side with a most careful attitude towards the old cadres, it is essential that new Party cadres be advanced. It happens not infrequently, however, that some of the "old hands" in the Party put obstacles in the way of the influx of new forces. Hundreds of revolutionary workers have knocked at the doors of the Party, and sometimes have been refused entrance, the excuse being that a "test" was necessary, or that "there was not a sufficient number of membership cards on hand". We are not thinking of cases of this sort, but cases where comrades without any bad intentions resist the influx of new forces because it appears to them, for "conspirative" or other reasons, to be somewhat dangerous for the Party. In the Communist Party of Spain there was the case when one of the leaders of a district committee was against admitting new forces into the Party. But when it was explained to him that the position he had adopted was wrong, he changed his ways. In the Communist Party of Jugoslavia there is some evidence of a struggle between the young and old cadres, with the old comrades trying to keep the leading positions for themselves, while the young ones adopt a somewhat scornful attitude to the old cadres. The one attitude and the other, of course, are harmful to the movement and

must be overcome. Or, for example, we know that during the first period of the Hitler regime, an unpleasant attitude existed in some of the organizations of the Communist Party of Germany towards the Social-Democratic workers who were joining the Communist Party and that there was a desire to put these former Social-Democrats in a separate category as "second grade" Communists.

In this field also we must make a decisive break once and for all with sectarian moods. Our tactics are calculated on mobilizing the masses in their millions for the struggle and to lead them forward under our guidance. The maximum initiative and the maximum flexibility are required if all these heterogeneous forces are to be merged into a single current which will sweep away all obstacles in its way. It is impossible to solve these tasks unless our Parties absorb the best elements from among these masses and make the effort of training them. This task is being and will be solved successfully along the road pointed out by the Seventh Congress.

On this road we are following the advice of the genius, the leader and teacher of toiling mankind, V. I. Lenin, who wrote the following in March 1905:

> "In wartime, recruits must be trained directly during military operations. Therefore, comrades, adopt the new methods of training more boldly! Organize more boldly more and more new units, send them into battle, recruit more of the working youth, extend the usual framework of all Party organizations, from committees to factory groups, trade unions and students' circles! Remember that every moment of delay in this task will play into the hands of the enemies of Social-Democracy;* for the new streams are seeking immediate outlets and if they do not find Social-Democratic channels they will rush into non-Social-Democratic channels."**

Only a systematic study of our cadres can ensure that we correctly distribute our forces. It is essential, as Comrade Dimitroff pointed out, that there be strong people who are linked with the masses and have come from the heart of the masses, that people who possess initiative and steadfastness be in the basic links of the movement. The leading bodies, first and foremost, should contain such people; such people should also be in all other responsible posts, including also technical work. There is nothing more dangerous than an underestimation of the political importance of what is known as the Party technical apparatus, than the idea that politically undeveloped, ideologically unsound workers can be used for technical work.

The question of the correct assignment of cadres is connected with the question of *de-centralizing the various links* of Party work; this is of tremendous importance both for the legal and illegal parties. This is required by both the principles of conspiracy and the principles of the

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* The Bolshevik Party was at that time called the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (of Bolsheviks).—*A.K.*

** Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 437, International Publishers, New York.

correct division of labor. And yet in very many Parties the work has been arranged in such a way that different spheres of activity were connected with each other, or the leadership of these spheres of activity was entrusted to one "specialist". It goes without saying how great were the opportunities which arose out of this for provocateurs carrying on their work in the Party. The following incident took place not so long ago in one of the Parties which has had little experience as regards conspiracy. The distribution of Party literature in one region was organized in such a way that the central courier supplied all the district stations with literature. On being arrested and beaten up he gave everything away. Thus, in consequence of the work being wrongly organized, the whole network of district literature stations was destroyed.

But the question of the correct use of people cannot be reduced merely to the distribution of forces within the Party organizations. Our forces must be skilfully assigned in the mass organizations, so that wherever it is expedient trustworthy Communists full of initiative will be found. Persistent work is necessary, a clear understanding of the tasks and of the means of fulfilling them is necessary, if we are to secure the correct allocation of our forces, if we are to be in a position to win all positions which are of importance to us.

The correct assignment of our forces also means that every one of our Party "detachments", wherever it may be placed, must be able to surround itself with an active group of sympathizers (from trustworthy people close to the Party to casual "fellow-travelers"), must be able to establish contacts with Social-Democratic workers and other anti-fascist forces, must be able wherever possible not only to establish united action against the class enemy, but also to consolidate this unity organizationally, by creating united front bodies. In estimating the work of our comrades, account should be taken of the question of how far they prove able to build up a body of active workers around themselves, to draw new people and new forces into their spheres of influence, and to educate them. On the other hand, comrades working in the mass organizations, especially in the organizations of the class enemy, must be afforded systematic assistance, their work must be constantly guided, they must learn from their mistakes, steeled and real Bolsheviks made of them. At their difficult post they must feel the help of the Party organization. This, of course, does not mean that they should not display initiative in carrying out the line of the Party.

Finally, the question of correctly assigning cadres depends upon the question of *safeguarding cadres*, as Comrade Dimitroff particularly emphasized in his speech. We must learn to withdraw Party workers to the rear whenever circumstances so require, and replace them by others. This is essential from the viewpoint of conspiracy, and frequently from the viewpoint of raising the ideological level of these comrades. The withdrawal of people to the rear and their transfer from place to place, is a matter of tremendous importance. It was not for nothing that in one of his letters to Gusev, Lenin stressed the following:

"I know from my own experience and that of numerous com-

rades that it is almost the most difficult thing for a revolutionary to leave a dangerous position *in time*."*

The subject of safeguarding cadres, of the principles of conspirative work, of the struggle against provocateurs, of the way to behave in case of arrest and at trials, of using comrades released from prison and from the concentration camp, requires especial examination. We shall not deal with this category of questions now. We shall only remark that our Sections are beginning more and more to understand the importance of this sphere of policy in regard to cadres. Quite recently (since the Seventh Congress) a number of our underground Parties have begun seriously to study questions of conspiracy. One of these Parties has especially emphasized the great importance of these questions in a resolution of the Central Committee, and correctly pointed out that violation of the pinciples of conspiracy is a menace not only to the comrade guilty of such violation but also to the whole of the mass work of the Party.

* * *

It is a very long and painstaking task to study cadres, to study the new forces which are coming forward. We must make such a study of our people as would enable us to find in each of them the particular feature which constitutes his strong side. Only such a study of our forces can ensure that our cadres be correctly distributed. Only when the leadership is able to put its finger on the special quality in each leading Party worker will it be able to give him the work which most of all corresponds to his abilities. And it is while carrying out work correctly selected that Party workers grow. On the contrary, even a loyal comrade, if he is given work which he is incapable of carrying out, which he is not in a position to fulfil, can as a result become disillusioned and demoralized.

The question of making correct use of cadres is closely connected with the problems of *collective leadership*. Collective leadership means that one leader does not replace the entire leadership but brings all the comrades into the work, distributing functions and thus building up a certain core of leaders. Of course, in underground conditions it may happen that such a core of leaders in one or other of the organizations does not hold out for long, that failure here or there may break down the collective work—nevertheless, if the work is correctly arranged, and if functions are divided properly, then definite habits, definite methods of work are formed and become established which make it possible for the organization to attain successes in the most difficult conditions.

All our Sections are aware of a large number of facts proving that in this respect things are extremely unsatisfactory. Very many workers are so overburdened with a multitude of functions that they are unable to deal satisfactorily with any of them. Whereas, if a considerable part of these functions were transferred to other Party workers, the work would be done better and new people would be trained and would develop.

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 465, Russian Edition.

Thus, for example, quite recently in a German town, a leading comrade responsible for the work of an entire district, at the same time organized underground meetings, arranged the communication service, and set the transport of literature going, and so on. Quite apart from the fact that the carrying of all these functions is impermissible from the viewpoint of conspiracy, it is clear that such a comrade is incapable of giving political leadership, and all the more so is he incapable of rallying to himself and training any sort of core of leading comrades.

Only systematic, constant supervision of the work of the Party organizations, only keeping a check on the fulfilment of decisions, can guarantee real operative guidance. Again, if there is no such leadership, if there is no check on how decisions are fulfilled, if there is no systematic, careful correction, in the course of the work, of mistakes committed, the growth of cadres will be considerably delayed.

Let us give two examples from the life of the Paris Party organization.

For a whole year, not a single leader from the district visited a certain one of the sub-districts of Paris. The secretary of the district committee had never visited the sub-district at all. The work of the Party units there was absolutely neglected. The rank and file were afraid to make use of self-criticism, remembering the days of Barbé-Celor, when severe punishment was meted out for the slightest attempt to indulge in criticism. When the new district committee raised the question of methods of inner-Party work, of self-criticism, the situattion rapidly changed. The Party organization in that district has doubled, and the fluctuation of the membership has almost completely been eliminated.

In another district of Paris, the rank and file themselves gave the signal to the leadership concerning the bad work of the district committee. When the Central Committee decided to investigate the situation, it transpired that the district committee in the main consisted of de-classed, non-proletarian elements with no contacts with the masses of the workers. After a number of these individuals had been removed, the work quickly improved. Thus, the checkup of the work of the organization helped in this case to get rid of alien, non-proletarian elements.

The two examples given above point to the tremendous importance of self-criticism. Comrade Stalin has always stressed the point that only through self-criticism "can real cadres and real Party leaders be trained."

For precisely this reason groups such as the anti-Party Barbé-Celor group in the Communist Party of France, the Adam-Bulechos-Trilla in the Communist Party of Spain, the Shash-Barn group of provocateurs in the Communist Party of Hungary, suppressed all self-criticism with all the means at their disposal, and sabotaged inner-Party democracy. Thus, for example in one of his declarations, in 1931, Barbé was compelled to admit that:

> "We have not a single Party unit secretary elected or promoted by the Party unit. It is the same in the district and regional committees. We do just the opposite. We create the leadership from the top downward. Of course, this does not give

the comrades the chance to develop their initiative and to advance. We no longer have traditions of regular promotion."

* * *

We need, first and foremost, people who are *profoundly devoted to the cause of the working class*, who are true to the Party in all and every circumstance, people who have been tested in battles and found staunch in the face of the class enemy. Such cadres are growing up and multiplying. The young generation of Party and Y.C.L. members in all countries are being trained on the heroic example of Dimitroff, the victor at the Leipzig trial, on the example of Thaelmann and Rakosi, on the example of Fang Chi-min, the hero of the Chinese people, who was tortured and executed by the hangmen of Chiang Kai-shek. These growing cadres are invincible.

We want people *who can stand at all times in the foremost positions of the struggle, capable of making flexible use of all types of weapons, and who can change them to suit the concrete situation.* Today our comrade is a tribune of the people, inflaming the workers; tomorrow, if circumstances demand, he goes into the severest underground conditions, leading the Party work from there; the day after, in new conditions, he is leading the masses to armed uprising, to the storming of capitalism. He knows how to combine strictly underground work with the use of each and every legal opportunity that arises.

And this means that we need people *in the closest degree connected with the masses.* We require real working class leaders, who can grasp the peculiar qualities of the masses among whom they are operating, who feel their needs, and know how to talk to them in their own language. We have an example of such simple language which the workers can understand in the election address issued by Comrade Gallacher, the first candidate of the Communist Party of Great Britain elected to Parliament.

We require people with initiative, people who *know how to find their bearings independently in the most difficult conditions of struggle.* It is clear that normal contacts between the Party organizations will be broken during sharp mass battles. We require people who can decide the most complicated questions independently, when cut off from the central leadership, and can boldly make decisions without fearing to assume responsibility. We require people who possess the will firmly to carry into actual practice decisions taken. We require leaders who do not lose their heads in moments of defeat and are not subject to dizziness in moments of success. As Comrade Stalin teaches us, we

> ". . . must intensify the struggle to forge truly revolutionary Party cadres and to select truly revolutionary leaders in the Party, people capable of going into battle and leading the proletariat in their train, people who do not show fear in the face of storm, and who will not fall into a panic, but who will steer a course to meet the storm."*

* Stalin, *On the Right Factionalists in the American Communist Party.*

Kirov

THE LIFE OF A PROLETARIAN LEADER

LIFE pulsates bright and full-blooded through the Land of the Soviets. It offers tremendous scope for the wonderful creative initiative of millions. But the odds and ends of the doomed capitalist class, and the bankrupt Trotsky Zinoviev counter-revolutionaries who have been hurled into the garbage heap of history, still entertained a year ago some hopes of introducing disorganization into the ranks of the Bolsheviks. And so they secretly sent in one of their degenerates, who treacherously crept in from behind and shot our Comrade Kirov, assassinating one of the greatest of proletarian revolutionaries.

Big, voluminous books are being written, and will yet be written, about the wonderful life of this beloved tribune of the people. In the present sketch, we only give isolated impressions, isolated episodes of his unusually colorful, heroic life of struggle, life which will inspire generations of fighters for the cause of proletarian revolution throughout the whole world.

* * *

Sergei Kostrikov-Kirov was born in 1886 in the little county town of Urzhum, in the former Viatka province, with a population of 4,000. It was a district extremely uncultured and neglected, where a handful of rich timber merchants held all the poor of the town in a vise, forcing them to work like slaves.

His father, Miron Kostrikov, was a poverty-stricken small bourgeois, with no definite occupation, who abandoned his family for months on end, the care of the children, three of them, falling entirely upon the frail shoulders of their timid consumptive mother.

By way of making a living, the Kostrikovs offered their hovel as a lodging house for peasants of their acquaintance when they came to the town on market days.

"Dirt, damp, evil-smelling air steeped in the fumes of *makhorka*,* the pungent smell of *portianki*** hung up to dry, the peasant lodgers. . . ." This is the description of the home environment of Kirov's childhood, given by one of his contemporaries.

When the father finally disappeared without trace, and the mother broke down and died, the Kostrikov children came under the guardianship of an old woman, an old nurse with a monthly budget of three rubles, which came to her as the widow of a soldier killed in action.

Having sufficiently kowtowed to different individuals of the gentry, the old woman managed to get Sergei put away in an orphanage. From there he went to the town school.

Kirov's native town served, in those days, as a place of exile for "political criminals". The following interesting fact serves to illustrate

* Cheap tobacco.—*Ed.*

** Coarse rags wrapped round the feet and legs instead of socks.—*Ed.*

the degree of culture of those who were called upon to maintain the law and order of the tsarist autocracy.

A report somehow reached the governor of Viatka that illegal circles were at work among the exiles, and so he despatched Prince Gagarin, his trusted representative, to investigate the affair on the spot. Upon the arrival of the Prince, the exiles were searched, and when the names of Marx and Engels were found in the letters confiscated, the Prince issued an order to the local police to discover the place of residence of these two seditious persons, Marx and Engels, and to arrest them.

As a youth of fifteen, Sergei Kostrikov made connections with the political exiles, and attended their secret meetings held in the forest seven kilometers away from the town.

On finishing the town school in 1901, and being one of the best scholars but with no means of support, he was granted a scholarship of 60 rubles a year by the Urzhum Town Charitable Society, on which miserable pittance he had to live and carry on his studies. Joining the mechano-technical school in Kazan, Sergei Kostrikov found himself among young people who, though not so poor as himself, were of poor parents, and so the changes which were taking place in tsarist Russia, which were the forerunners of the approaching revolutionary storm of the year 1905, found a particularly ready response there.

In Kazan, Sergei Kostrikov attended illegal circles of students, read revolutionary literature, and developed into a Marxist. On his arrival in Urzhum for the summer vacation in 1904, he made friends with Nikonov, a student and Social-Democrat in exile, at whose invitation he moved to Tomsk.

THE DAYS OF 1905

In Tomsk, Sergei Kostrikov, then 18 years old, joined the Party organization and took a very active part in its work. He belonged to the Left wing of the then united Social-Democratic organization, where the Mensheviks predominated. Kostrikov was an indomitable Bolshevik-Leninist.

On January 9, 1905, the St. Petersburg workers marched to the winter palace with a petition to the tsar, and were fired on by his orders. As a result, the fury of the people surged throughout the whole of the tremendous country to farthest Siberia, and the Tomsk Party organization began preparations for a political protest demonstration. Sergei Kostrikov, still a youth strongly insisted upon the need for demonstrating under arms, despite the fact that few firearms were available.

On the day of the demonstration, January 18, 1905, he marched at the head of an armed guard, whose duty it was to defend the standard bearer, Joseph Kononev, a worker and personal friends of Sergei.

The demonstration was fired upon by the tsarist police. The standard bearer was killed, but Kostrikov managed to escape while the shooting was still on. The same day he heard from a comrade that the banner behind which they had marched was undamaged, but was hidden in the breast of the slain worker, Kononev, where a comrade had man-

aged to hide it. The banner must not be left with the enemy: they would have to go into battle again with it in the future, drenched as it was with the blood of a fighting comrade.

Late that night, Kostrikov stole away to the morgue, persuaded the watchman, using the excuse that he was looking for his dead brother, to show him the corpses lying there, took the flag from the breast of his dead friend and returned it to the Party Committee.

On January 26, the funeral of Kononev, the standard bearer, killed during the January 18 demonstration, developed into a tremendous mass demonstration at which a fiery proclamation was distributed written by Kostrikov, entitled, "A Wreath for a Fallen Comrade".

On February 2, 1905, Sergei Kostrikov himself was thrown into a tsarist jail; he was arrested at an illegal meeting. Adhering to Bolshevik tactics, he refused to answer questions during the interrogation.

After a short time he was released from jail, and he immediately resumed his interrupted revolutionary work. He was the chief organizer of a big strike of railwaymen at the station Taiga, he was the organizer of the May Day demonstration held by the Tomsk workers, and was entrusted with the task of managing the secret printshop of the Tomsk Party Committee.

With the tremendous militant activity which Sergei Kostrikov displayed, he came into conflict with a number of obstacles inside the Tomsk Party Committee itself, which included Mensheviks against whom he had to carry on a constant struggle.

Sergei Kostrikov was almost the only person in the Committee who regarded the tsar's manifesto of October 17, 1905, as a trap, as an act of provocation, and who pointed to the need of strengthening the workers' fighting units, of making preparations for an armed uprising, while the Mensheviks were ready to rest on their laurels after the receipt of the tsar's declaration "conferring liberties".

The Tomsk fighting units, headed by Sergei Kostrikov, played a tremendous role in the struggle against the Black Hundreds, which were organized and inspired at that time by the police, and which were particularly unbridled during the days of the tsarist manifesto.

THE DAYS OF REACTION

After the defeat of the Moscow armed uprising in December 1905, a wave of unprecedented repressions swept throughout the whole of Russia. The tsarist punitive detachments did not miss Siberia. Here, as in other parts, the tsarist hangmen left behind a whole forest of gallows.

In January 1906, Sergei Kostrikov was arrested, but he had no weapons at the time. It was not discovered whether he took part in the military work or not. The fact that he was under age also went in his favor. The affair was limited in his case merely to a few months' imprisonment.

On his release, he concentrated his attention upon setting up a well-equipped secret printshop, for which purpose, together with two

other comrades, he rented a small house with a separate yard, constructed a well-camouflaged cellar to the house in which the printing was done.

This was all so cleverly arranged that when the police, suspecting that there was a secret printshop in the house, broke into it in the night, they nevertheless failed to discover the cellar and did not find the printshop, even though they carried out a careful search and arrested Sergei Kostrikov and his two comrades.

For two years investigations went on, and Kostrikov and his comrades remained in prison, yet the court which finally heard the case was compelled to release them for want of proof that there actually was a printshop in existence.

Kostrikov made full use of his long confinement in prison to undertake serious theoretical study, in spite of the awful prison environment. Often at night the voice of one comrade or another could be heard in the corridor calling out the words: "Farewell, comrades, they're taking me out to be hanged!"

The most violent reaction reigned throughout Russia between 1908 and 1911, and only towards the end of 1911 was there again "the urge for revolution", as V. I. Lenin put it. During that period all the unstable elements left the Party, drifted away, but the Bolshevik "regulars" were not the kind to lay down their arms, and young Sergei Kostrikov was a Bolshevik in the very broadest sense of the word.

During the years of reaction he was unswervingly at his post—at first in Irkutsk, where he was occupied with the restoration of the devastated Party organization. This was under conditions when a desperate struggle had to be carried on not only against the ferocious tsarist gendarmes, not only against the Mensheviks, but also against the decadent moods and the disillusionment rife among his comrades-in-arms of yesterday.

In 1909 he had to flee from Irkutsk because the Tomsk printshop, which had not been discovered by the police before this time, came to light after a period of three years. It was by pure accident; the floor of the room under which the cellar had been made collapsed, and at the time the house was occupied by some policeman. There was a great sensation throughout the town, and redoubled efforts were made to discover the whereabouts of Kostrikov and his comrades. Kostrikov, however, had meanwhile successfully covered a distance of several thousand kilometers from Irkutsk to Vladikavkaz (known as Orjonikidze today).

At that time Vladikavkaz was one of the main bases for the colonizing policy of the tsarist autocracy. The tsarist officials with the cognizance and participation of the mountain feudal lords, kulaks and the clergy, engaged in the most flagrant robbery of the mountain peoples. The Social-Democratic Party organization was crushed by the police in 1906-07.

Sergei Kostrikov found work on the *Terek*, a local newspaper, liberal for those days, in which, writing under the pseudonym "Kirov",

he sometimes succeeded in outwitting the censorship and getting his Bolshevik articles published. Through the newspaper and in other ways, he made contacts with local workers and railwaymen, organized illegal study circles, and also set up strong ties with the Party organizations of the nearby proletarian centers of Grozny, Mineralnaya Voda, etc., instructing these organizations in the difficult task of carrying on Bolshevik Party work under conditions of ferocious reaction.

In Vladikavkaz Kirov continued to study very hard. He closely observed life—reality. He would take books with him into the country, and frequently climbed to the villages in the mountains, talked with the mountaineers, obtained a detailed knowledge of the peculiarities of their mode of living, and made a study of the colonial policy of tsarism. All of this subsequently became of indispensable value to Kirov when he had to find his bearings in the complicated troubles of the internecine strife between these peoples during the period of civil war.

In August 1911, after two years' search in connection with the affair of the Tomsk printshop, the tsarist gendarmes found Kirov's whereabouts, arrested him, conveyed him in the course of two months from one bug-infested prison to another, all the way to Tomsk, and there threw him into prison to await his trial.

During the years that had passed, however, Kirov's outward appearance had changed so much, that the police officers called to bear witness against him—the officers who had carried out the search five years previously, and who now held him under arrest—could not identify him as the Kostrikov whom they had then arrested. Quite unexpectedly, Kirov was acquitted, and to his comrades' joy returned to Vladikavkaz, where he continued his energetic, illegal revolutionary work until the February revolution.

THE 1917 DAYS

After the downfall of the autocracy, a Soviet of workers' deputies was set up in Vladikavkaz. At that time the Bolsheviks constituted a minority in the Soviet, while opportunists of all kinds were active there. It was the lot of the small group of Bolsheviks headed by Kirov to carry out the difficult task of winning the majority to their side.

Kirov's brilliant speeches, imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, rang out every day at numerous meetings, and when the best orators from among the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries spoke in opposition to him, they were given a bad reception, as only Kirov's speeches harmonized with the feelings of the masses.

In May, the influence of the Bolsheviks, who still remained a minority in the Soviet, had increased so much that Kirov, at one of its meetings, successfully secured the passing of a resolution of protest against the supreme local authorities—against the so-called civil committee which was headed by a commissar of the provisional government.

Seeing that the influence of the Bolsheviks was growing so rapidly, the counter-revolutionaries began to spread provocatory rumors to the effect that the Bolsheviks were allegedly calling upon the mountaineers

to seize the Cossack villages, were calling upon them to plunder. As a result of these rumors a bloody collision took place between the Ingushi* who had come to market in the town and the soldiers of the 1935th regiment.

News of the manner in which the soldiers had attacked the unarmed Ingushi caused tremendous indignation in the villages. The atmosphere was so charged that there was serious danger of an internecine war breaking out. But Kirov intervened. He went to the mountain villages, and using his knowledge of local conditions and the mode of living of the mountaineers, found the right words to persuade them, and so averted the fratricidal war that was on the point of breaking out.

He succeeded in explaining the true nature of the provocation to the infuriated, backward masses who were thirsting for revenge. Kirov was able on the spot to make firm contacts with the poor people of Osetia, and gave all the support he could to the Kermen Party to which they belonged.

On the question of the attitude to be adopted towards the Kermen Party which had no clearly defined program, but which at bottom supported the Bolsheviks, Kirov had to argue with a number of his own comrades among the Bolsheviks, who had not, like he, mastered the flexibility of the Leninist tactics in questions of the conduct of the united front.

Subsequently, in 1918, the Kermen Party, which had previously fought side by side with the Bolsheviks, formally joined the Communist Party.

By September 1917, the Bolsheviks gained complete control of the Vladikavkaz Soviet. On October 5, Kirov was chosen as the delegate from Vladikavkaz to the second All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Arriving in Petrograd, during these decisive days, he took an active part in the fight for Soviet power, and returned to Vladikavkaz after the great October victory had been won.

THE FIGHT FOR SOVIET POWER

The Vladikavkaz theater was full to overflowing, and the enthusiasm of the revolution could be felt in every word of the speech delivered by Kirov on his return from Petrograd.

He spoke at many mass meetings, at which he explained the greatness, the world historic importance of the proletarian victory which has been won, in a manner accessible and understandable to these masses.

It was at this time that there took place, under the direct guidance of Kirov, the final separation from the Mensheviks in Vladikavkaz, or rather the liquidation of the last of them, for of 500 Party members present at the town meeting, 490 were in favor of the Bolsheviks, and only ten supported the Mensheviks.

The Vladikavkaz garrison also went over to the Bolsheviks. Nevertheless, the situation remained unstable. The local bourgeois counter-revolutionary forces, in the form of the Terek-Dagestan government, tried to provoke the more backward masses by inciting one nationality

* Ingushi—a Caucasian Tribe.

against the other, by drawing the attention of the masses away from the urgent questions of the class struggle, from the burning question of land for the tillers, etc.

At a favorable moment, the White officers made an onslaught on the Soviet and the Bolshevik Committee, signs appeared with the slogan, "Death to the Bolsheviks", and the White bands searched high and low for Kirov. But Kirov escaped successfully and made his way to Piatigorsk.

The Bolshevik Party organization went underground. The Whites took possession of Vladikavkaz, but the "victors" kept more to the center of the town, warily watching the outskirts, for here they knew the workers were on the side of the Bolsheviks.

The counter-revolutionary military council called a congress in the town of Mozdok close by, for the purpose of consolidating its forces. But despite the careful selection of delegates, rank-and-file Cossacks, who were dissatisfied with the Whites and complained of the fact that the situation was unstable in the district, also found their way into the congress. Mikhail Blok, a Bolshevik who had cleverly penetrated into the congress, took up these complaints. He made a proposal that a regional congress be convened in Mozdok for the purpose of setting up a stable government. The proposal of the Bolshevik Blok was accepted, and the Terek Regional Congress of Toiling People was convened. While the congress was on, the town was flooded with armed detachments of especially "loyal" Cossacks. But Kirov turned up at the congress, and from its tribune gave a brilliant example of how, in a similar situation, *the people's front can and must* be mustered against counter-revolution, against the instigators of internecine hostilities, against the enemies of the toilers.

Kirov organized and stood at the head of the "Socialist bloc", in which Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries took part, but which was led by Bolsheviks.

"If the situation is to be saved in the Terek region," declared Kirov at the Mozdok Congress, "it can be saved only *by the united front.* . . . If you do not set up a united front, then we are all lost."

A group of delegates proposed that the Congress immediately recognize the authority of the Council of People's Commissars. But Kirov, correctly taking account of the relation of forces, and considering the proposal premature, spoke *against* it. And this was right. The first thing that had to be done was to isolate the counter-revolutionary leaders, to wrench the toiling Cossacks away from their influence, to win the confidence of the masses who lived in the hills; the masses had to be led towards the recognition of the Soviet government and to its establishment. Kirov called for the formation of transitional "organs of the power of the people":

> "Taking account of the fact that the dark forces who aim at drowning all the conquests of the revolution in fratricidal war are organizing with every day that passes, we say that the people must first of all find among themselves the forces for

asserting the authority of the people, by establishing organs of the power of the people in every village."

The correct tactics pursued by Kirov resulted in the Mozdok Congress following his lead. The Congress adopted the proposal put forward by the Bolsheviks that the Congress be converted into the First Session of the Terek Regional People's Congress.

A few weeks later the Second Session of the Congress was convened in Piatigorsk, where the Bolsheviks had a majority in the Soviet. At this Congress also (where the position of the Bolsheviks was already immeasurably stronger), Kirov again opposed the ultra-revolutionary proposal to *begin* the work of the Congress by recognizing the Soviet government. First of all he raised before the Congress "all the painful questions which are troubling democracy: the question of the land, the national question, and the labor question". He organized a ceremonial meeting of the Ingushi and Chechen delegates, who for the first time took their places at the Congress side by side with the Russian toilers, and the Cossacks. He paralyzed all the attempts of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries to divert the Congress from the solution of the fundamental questions of the revolution to mere general talk, which would have meant the breakdown of the Congress and the consolidation of counter-revolution in the North Caucasus. And it was only after the Congress had fundamentally solved the main questions, had solved them, thanks to Kirov's guidance, in the spirit of the October Revolution, that the Congress crowned its work with the triumphant decision to dispatch a telegram to Lenin recognizing the power of the Council of People's Commissars, and containing greetings from the peoples of the North Caucasus.

There is no need to prove how important such a *model of Bolshevik policy* is for the Communists of all countries. Kirov's victory in Mozdok and Piatigorsk was not only a victory of the revolution over counter-revolution, a victory of the people over the enemies of the people, but was also the victory of true Leninist-Stalinist strategy and tactics over "Left" dogmatism, phrasemongering, and a lifeless repetition of phrases.

It was only with the direct support of the Entente that the white-guards succeeded in breaking through to the North Caucasus. The counter-revolutionaries, inspired by the approach of the Denikin bands, continued to demoralize the more backward section of the population in the towns and villages, by organizing acts of provocation, such as the murder of Osetins by the Ingushi, by calling for blood feuds, etc.

Things came to such a pass that real war broke out between two close-lying villages, and trenches were dug. And it was to these trenches that Kirov set out under bullet fire, leading a delegation from the Congress of the toiling people, and once more he succeeded in securing conciliation between the two hostile sides.

The advance of Denikin upon the North Caucasus created such a dangerous situation that Kirov set out for Moscow to secure help, but he did not succeed in returning to Vladikavkaz with this assistance, because the North Caucasus soon fell into the hands of the Whites.

THE CIVIL WAR YEARS

Kirov set out for Astrakhan, where the hungry, unshod, typhus-stricken units of the Eleventh Red Army had been gradually returning since December 1918, after covering a tortuous line of retreat. The army had to receive reinforcements, the men had to recuperate, to be shod, fed, given rest, and then prepared for the offensive which would clear Denikin out of the North Caucasus.

Occupying a leading position in the Revolutionary Military Council of the Eleventh Army, Kirov carried on a tremendous amount of work to raise the physical and moral state of the men. At this time the devastation, hunger and epidemics in the town of Astrakhan were being used by the counter-revolutionary elements, who were preparing an uprising. As a result of rapid and determined action by Kirov, the uprising was suppressed. However, Astrakhan was soon surrounded on all sides by the Whites, and it appeared hopeless to defend it. From headquarters, Trotsky hurried with orders to evacuate Astrakhan, but Kirov most categorically protested against the capitulatory attitude of Trotsky and those Communists who fell under his capitulating attitude. Kirov telegraphed direct to Lenin, from whom came the reply: "Defend Astrakhan to the end."

While conducting tremendous work to strengthen the defense, Kirov maintained constant contact with the illegal Party organizations and the partisan detachments operating in the rear among the Whites.

From Baku and Petrovsk, which were in the hands of the enemy, loyal comrades came to him illegally, over the Caspian Sea on boats, comrades to whom he handed on letters, money, and Bolshevik literature, whom he placed in contact with Moscow, and to whom he gave instructions, etc.

By August, the reorganized, reinforced Eleventh Army which had recuperated began to make preparations for the offensive, and then after the taking of Tsarytsin, under Stalin's leadership, the army marched into the North Caucasus, according to the plan drawn up by Kirov, and crushing Denikin's troops, cleared out the Whites.

* * *

In the spring of 1920, Kirov advanced upon Baku on the first Red armored train.

Here, as everywhere else, he was the central figure in operating the Bolshevik line, and first and foremost restored the normal life of the local Party organizations.

Plunging into the very heart of the new life that was being built in that large proletarian center, with its population of many nationalities who spoke many tongues, Kirov worked incessantly, worked with enthusiasm, worked at an unheard-of pace, using the tremendous influence, the love, which his personality inspired among the broad masses of oil workers.

In the teeth of fierce resistance offered by the nationalist elements, he carried out the Leninist-Stalinist national policy and organized the Trans-Caucasian Federation.

In Baku, Kirov also coped brilliantly with the most complicated economic task, which was of state importance, namely, with the task of restoring and reconstructing the oil industry which had formerly been backward, and which, after the way it had been handled by the Mussavats, was ruined completely.

AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TROTSKYISTS-ZINOVIEVISTS

At the end of 1925, the group of October wreckers at the Fourteenth Congress, Zinoviev and Kamenev, tried to enter into a general battle against the Party. Having obtained mandates to the Congress from Leningrad by deceitful means, this handful of capitulators set up a howl about the victory of socialism being impossible in the Soviet Union, and ferociously bombarded the whole policy of the Party. Zinoviev and his supporters proposed that the Party leave the road of Lenin and Stalin and take another road, namely, the road leading to the restoration of capitalism, to the downfall of the Party and the ruin of the revolution.

The Party contemptuously swept aside this handful of deserters and traitors. At the will of the Party Kirov set out for Leningrad where he remained at the glorious post of leader of the Bolsheviks of the city of Lenin to the last minute of his life. With Kirov in Leningrad, the eyes of that section of the Leningrad workers which had been misled by the Zinoviev-Kamenev double-dealers were quickly opened. Kirov unmasked the Trotskyists-Zinovievists, their counter-revolutionary essence and their foul double-dealing and plots. He unfailingly recognized and relentlessly eradicated Right capitulatory methods in whatever form they appeared. With Kirov in Leningrad, the proletariat of the great city marched as a solid army behind the Party, its Leninist Central Committee, and Comrade Stalin, and against the Right and "Left" opportunists. With Kirov in Leningrad, socialist industry under his guidance grew at a terrific pace, the collective farms gathered strength and marched to victory, untold wealth was discovered in the bowels of the rough Northern region, and new cities made their appearance with fabulous rapidity. The Stalinist policy brought victory after victory, and under the banner of Stalin, Kirov trained ever more and more new forces of Bolsheviks, Young Communists, and socially active workers in the factories and collective farms.

Kirov was one of the most popular figures in the Party and the country. The disciple, the comrade-in-arms, and closest friend of our great Stalin, he became a member of the general staff of Bolshevism, of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U, and was appointed one of the secretaries of the Central Committee of the Party.

Kirov foresaw and welcomed the unprecedented flowering of joyful labor in the Soviet Union, which in our days has taken the form of the mighty Stakhanov movement. In his extraordinarily powerful

speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., Kirov said: "Our successes are really enormous. Devil take it, to speak in human language, one so wants to go on living and living; why, just see what is going on."

Then suddenly, the evil day of December 1, 1934. The treacherous bullet fired at Kirov struck home. This impetuous, fiery life, the life of a fine Bolshevik, one of the best leaders of the Bolshevik Party, who to his last breath belonged to the Party, to the cause of the proletariat, was cut short by the enemy, in the flower of manhood.

* * *

The working class and the whole of the Soviet people replied to this malicious shot, fired in the Smolny, with fury, contempt, and hatred of the murderers.

History knows of no treachery more foul than that which the Zinoviev-Kamenev band committed. Through Comrade Stalin, the Party had long ago uttered a warning that the road of the Zinoviev-Trotskyite opposition would inevitably lead it to the anti-Soviet camp. Pretenders to the role of "saviors" of the Party, Zinoviev and Kamenev fell into the most evil-smelling swamp of fascist counter-revolution. The seeds of fascist hatred towards true sons of the Party, which the supporters of Zinoviev sowed long before their open hostility against the Party, at the Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., brought forth fruits. The counter-revolutionaries of the Trotsky-Zinoviev bloc have sunk to fascist, terrorist methods of fighting against the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev—these are the men who directed the hand of the scoundrel who killed Kirov.

The proletarian court brought down its sword upon the heads of the murderers and their accomplices. Is it surprising that the fascist press rushed to the defense of these scoundrels? Is it surprising that the Trotskyites, Mensheviks and some of the leaders of the Second International immediately began to mourn the bitter fate of the unmasked Zinoviev-Kamenev band? But the workers of the whole world, including the enormous masses of Social-Democratic workers, warmly welcomed the sentence of the proletarian court. At the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Comrade Thorez said the following, concerning the behavior of a number of the Social-Democratic leaders:

> "We condemned this position of the Mensheviks, we called to mind the historic phrase of Robespierre: '*We are suspicious of sensitiveness which sheds tears only concerning affronts against the enemies of the people.*' We declared our unconditional solidarity with revolutionary, Bolshevik justice. We put the Mensheviks and their friends in the pillory. And they remained silent."

For the workers of the whole world, the thrice despicable names of Zinoviev, Kamenev and Trotsky are branded for all time as sworn enemies of the working class.

The proletariat are firmly aware that their cause is invincible. They know it because they are armed with the only correct science, because the light of the theory of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, shines upon their way. Their love and loyalty to their Party, to their leaders, their contempt and hatred of the enemy increase their fighting efficiency tenfold and are therefore one of the most important conditions for victory.

The foul murder of Kirov reminds us of this over and over again.

The bright, heroic figure of Kirov will never fade: it calls the proletarians and masses of the people of all countries to the fight against all the dark forces, against all the enemies of the people, to fight to the end, to victory.

"Leninists"

By E. FISHER

THIS is the title of an article by Gustav Richter, one of the leading members of the party of revolutionary Socialists in Austria, published in the January issue of *Kampf*. At the beginning the author polemizes against the Trotskyist and semi-Trotskyist elements who call themselves "Leninists" but who take their time and remain apart from the struggle, managing to repose among quotations of Lenin, as on a soft cushion. They manifest a contempt for the practical people who happen to make mistakes from time to time, while conducting political work instead of "unerringly" serving their time in cafes. The article, not without wit, describes some of these types, but there is one type missing from the picture gallery. That is the type of Social-Democrat who has all of a sudden discovered Lenin in order to use him for the struggle against the Communists, and who manipulates newly discovered quotations in order to deal a blow at the Communists and to dumbfound everybody with the astounding conclusion that: "Fundamentally the Socialists are better Leninists than the Communists are." Gustav Richter himself belong to this category of "Leninists". He has given us, Communists, bad marks for Leninism. Says Richter:

> "That was, so to speak, non-Party, 'savage' communism. Unfortunately there is still another kind in Austria. If it has hitherto mainly been a question of human imperfection, now it is a question of what is politically dangerous. We are speaking of 'Leninism' officially approved and sanctioned by the Party authorities, of our Communists who have now become real politicians."

The Trotskyists, semi-Trotskyists and other wreckers in the working class movement are in Richter's opinion only "humanly imperfect", whereas we Communists are "politically dangerous". As proof of this, Richter quotes a draft of an International Red Aid leaflet in which anti-fascist political prisoners are called "people of progress". One may call this formula a good or bad one—this is not the point. We have never denied that Communists also make mistakes. It would not be worthwhile starting a discussion on this subject were it not that more serious questions are at issue. But it is under the excuse of criticizing this manifesto that Richter declares against drawing the non-proletarian toiling masses into the anti-fascist struggle, against establishing the people's front against fascism. In his criticism of the leaflet, Richter appends the following:

> "Thus we shall soon have a progressive front. These 'Leninist' tactics are particularly widespread in the trade union sphere. On these grounds the curious idea has arisen that in the conditions of struggle against the authoritarian regime we ought

> now to act moderately, so as not to complicate the chance of our demands being satisfied, by exaggerating them."

To "consolidate" his position, Richter refers to one of Lenin's utterances in 1902:

> "It is the traditional servile wisdom of all liberals to display restraint precisely at the time when the government has begun to waver (on some question or other)."

How adroit is our newly-baked Leninist? He has snatched up a quotation on the way so as to accuse the Communists of possessing the "servile wisdom of the liberals". We shall not reply to him with quotations; we only want to sort out the concrete thought from the general phrases. On what particular question has the government begun to waver, and what "curious idea" are the Communist trade union workers defending? We, Communists, are putting forward the "curious" idea that every revolutionary must work where the working masses, and first and foremost the decisive sections of the working class, are to be found. In Austria the decisive sections of the working class are, in the main, to be found in the government trade unions, it goes without saying, not of their own will, not out of conviction; but this does not alter the point in the least. And so the Communist trade union workers have conceived the "curious idea" of working in the government trade unions so as to mobilize the workers there against the government and the employers, and to carry on the struggle for the economic and political demands of the workers.

The workers in many enterprises have passed resolutions in which they have put forward demands—"moderate" demands such as the free election of their representatives, amnesty for all imprisoned anti-fascists, the removal of commissars from the trade unions, and the abolition of concentration camps. These "moderate" demands have the advantage that they rally wide masses of workers today in the enterprises to defend these demands. Some of these partial demands have been successfully carried through, for example, the Christmas amnesty. True, "the revolutionary Socialists" do not believe that the workers are in a position to achieve even the smallest successes, and with a superior smile explain that the amnesty is exclusively the service rendered by English Members of Parliament; and that our task for the future is merely to wait until British imperialism overthrows Italian fascism. The Communists, however, are not willing to retreat from their "curious idea"; they are convinced that the Austrian workers are capable by their own forces of winning successes, though of course, only on the condition that they do not content themselves merely with distributing leaflets and newspapers; but to organize the struggle against fascism and the employers, making use of all legal opportunities in this connection.

Richter, who is so worried about Leninism, can heave a sigh of relief; our aim is not to achieve one or other reform of fascism, nor to achieve some sort of coalition government with the bourgeoisie. Our aim is the dictatorship of the proletariat. We, of course, consider—

however "curious" it may be—that we shall only approach this aim if we do not limit ourselves merely to making declarations to this effect, but in the difficult underground conditions of fascism organize the struggle of the working class and penetrate into all the mass organizations which the toilers join, if, day in and day out, we win over and convince the workers in the course of the struggle for their daily interests. We adhere to our "curious idea" that only on the basis of the experience of the daily struggle can the working masses be persuaded of the correctness of our line. We consider that fascist demagogy can also mislead certain sections of the working class if we do not attack fascism in its own mass organizations, but imagine that we can by agitation alone for long influence the masses in their hundreds of thousands. We do not believe that the masses will remain unaffected by the changing circumstances. We do not believe in the political mathematics which declared that in Austria 40 per cent of the people are Red, 40 per cent are Brown, and 20 per cent Black and Green. Serious corrections in our favor can be introduced into these statistics, provided we work among the masses and not only among the working masses, instead of folding our arms and awaiting changes in the foreign political situation.

A serious struggle for the soul of the worker has begun inside the government trade union. The Communists alone are today waging an active struggle against the extremely skilful demagogy of the fascists. Members of the former Committee of Seven* and the revolutionary Socialists adhere to the old slogan of boycott, which at one time was correct, but is not so now, in the changed conditions. Members of the former Committee of Seven and the revolutionary Socialists have refused to work among the masses in the government trade unions and directly to organize and carry on the daily struggle of these masses for their "moderate" demands. Thereby they are becoming isolated from these masses and are developing more and more into a sect without any political influence. The revolutionary Socialists and other similar groupings in all countries are plunging deeper and deeper into the self-satisfied sectarianism which Comrade Dimitroff condemned at the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. The Communists, in direct contradistinction to the revolutionary Socialists, are successfully overcoming their sectarianism.

It is extremely praiseworthy that the revolutionary Socialists make a study of Lenin; however, they should guard themselves against the kind of commentator upon Lenin who is prepared in all situations that arise to settle the question with a couple of quotations from Lenin, instead of making an all-round investigation of the situation, and studying its concrete conditions in real Leninist fashion; they must guard against becoming the kind of "Leninists" who teach the masses while standing aloof from them, instead of fighting among the masses and together with the masses, to put Communist principles into practice.

* A committee to re-establish the trade unions organized by the Social-Democrats.

Butter and Guns

By G. ERNEST

IN his speech before the members of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Tukhachevsky, the Assistant Commissar for Defense, spoke quietly and convincingly about the menace to general peace and the Soviet Union from the side of Japan, Germany and Poland. Comrade Tukhachevsky explained the measures that need to be taken if the U.S.S.R. and peace generally are to be successfully defended, and in this connection reported that the strength of the Red Army of the proletarian state has in peace times been raised to 1,300,000 men.

German fascism replied to the speech made by Tukhachevsky and to the decisions of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. to increase expenditure on defense, with a hysterical outbreak of fury. Hitler Germany is arming itself for an offensive war. At the Nuremberg Congress of the German fascists, and at other meetings Hitler and Goebbels have with cynical frankness announced a war against the Soviet Union, against "World Bolshevism". Articles in the newspapers and journals of Hitler fascism declare that the Ukraine must be divided up between Germany and Poland. At the present moment, however, these gentlemen who are urging Germany on towards a catastrophe have apparently forgotten all these declarations. They are cackling like hens who are threatened by an evil bird, and are attempting, with their cackling, to convince the whole world that it is not Hitler Germany but the Soviet Union which is a menace to general peace.

In this issue dated January 14, Hitler's paper, the *Volkischer Beobachter* wrote the following:

> "Thus, the plans for 1936 outdo all ever seen before, for if there is a state which more than doubled its expenditure on armaments from one year to another, then, only the Bolsheviks can allow themselves such an 'investment in the cause of soothing peace'. There can be no doubt that they will not hesitate for a single moment in Moscow to strengthen these declarations with the corresponding facts. It is sufficient to call to mind with what inhuman consistency and ferocity the First Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union was carried through."

Yes, German fascism notes with profound apprehension the successes of the First Five-Year Plan and of the subsequent victories of socialism. As distinct from the fascist rhetoricians, who deal in thousands of years, and who repudiate all that they have themselves recognized as being forever unshakable, within the course of a few weeks—the Bolsheviks do what they say and fulfil their declarations. The Bolsheviks are true to their promises, and if they say that they want not war but peace, then they really strive for peace. If they declare that they will thrash any aggressor and compel him to be off home, then

they will *really* thrash him and compel him to be off home. People like Hitler and Goebbels feel somewhat out of sorts at this kind of thing.

The policy of Bolshevism is not directed against any single country nor against any single people. It is directed against war and the warmongers. The Soviet Union wants at all costs to prevent war, and woe to anybody who dares to make an onslaught on it.

While the *Volkischer Beobachter* tries to spread alarm throughout the world regarding the growth, numerical strength and power of the Red Army, the *Angriff*, Herr Goebbels' paper, on the other hand, attempts to soothe its Brown supporters and to belittle the importance of the Red Army. And if one method contradicts the other, then what real importance is this for Hitler Germany? The *Angriff* writes the following:

> "The boastful blather of the Soviet militarists cannot cover up the fact well known to the whole world that the Russians have always put forward colossal armies. But the thing is that they have not been victorious with these armies, and this, in our humble opinion, is the main thing. There are a number of real examples to show that the technical equipment of an army does not decide the question. The main point is human beings first of all."

Of course, the main thing is human beings, the social system which they represent. The colossal armies of the tsar lost all wars—and by the way the *Angriff* does not need to remind us about this; Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly drawn attention to this. The Russian tsarist army met with defeat on more than one occasion, for tsarist Russia, reactionary, rotten and torn by internal social and national contradictions, was incapable of winning any kind of war. But the French revolutionary armies were victorious, although they went into battle barefoot, with empty stomachs, and although they were faced by troops considerably superior to themselves from the technical point of view. They were victorious because they were enthused by the spirit of a new age, by the spirit of the revolution. The Red Guards of the great proletarian revolution in Russia routed the armies of the counter-revolution which were considerably superior to them from the technical point of view, while the Red Army, which came into being in incredibly difficult conditions and was insufficiently armed and trained, settled accounts with the interventionist armies of all the imperialist states. It was victorious because it knew that it was fighting for the victory of the proletarian revolution, for communism. The *Volkischer Beobachter* is right in pointing to the fact that the Red Army is filled with this spirit at the present day as well. The success of a cause depends first and foremost on cadres, on people. This is what the *Volkischer Beobachter* says about the people in the Red Army:

> "At the present time the Red Army is an army of a million men which has colossal reserves, while tomorrow it will be an army twice more powerful. And this army feels itself a force

which is paving the way for the world revolution; this task is pointed out to it time and again."

There can be no doubt that every Red Army man is filled with revolutionary enthusiasm; he knows that he is fighting for the fatherland of the toilers, for his own country, for the country of his brothers and sisters, the Land of Socialism where the well-being of the whole people is rising, and where he is advancing to an ever higher level of culture. The new man of the Soviet Union understands that by defending his fatherland, the Soviet Union, he is fighting for the cause of the workers of all lands, for the socialist system, which increases his material well-being with every day that passes, which provides him with more and more butter and meat and with better clothes, creates better living conditions, and opens up wide cultural possibilities for him. You are right, gentlemen of the *Angriff*, the decisive factor is the human being. What is necessary is that he knows what he is fighting for. What is the position with you, in Hitler Germany?

Goebbels gave his reply to this question, when, in his speech made on January 18, he declared that the government took account of all the difficulties quite well, but that it had to defend itself against critics and grumblers so as not to be driven to the wall by them, adding:

> "The economic situation which is characterized by an unexpected increase in unemployment is somewhat unstable. Our opponents have all of a sudden got the idea into their heads, although they have been vegetarians up to now, that they would like to eat pork. They behave as though we are hens that do not want to lay eggs. We can get on without butter, but we can't get on without guns. If we are attacked, we shall have to defend ourselves, not with butter but with guns."

Hence the conclusion: prepare dinners with the aid of poison gases, bake bread of powder, and satisfy your hunger with guns—this is the recipe given by Goebbels to the German people. A special patriotic dish is being concocted according to this recipe in the German "hell's kitchen". But guns are an indigestible food, and so the thought is developing in the minds of the German people that world history may be a splendid thing, but if butter, meat and other products become more and more difficult to get the further Hitler and Goebbels lead them into the heart of world history, then let these gentlemen rid them of such world history. The German man in the street does not want to fall into ever more profound poverty, and to become finally ruined for the sake of technically arming Hitler's army. And the greater the food difficulties being undergone by the people, the more the system cracks on all sides.

German fascism is depriving the people of butter, depriving them of their last crumbs, dooming them to an uncultured and poverty-stricken existence, so as to make guns and to attack other peoples. The Soviet Union makes its guns so as to defend the growing well-being and growing culture of the people. This is the difference. And this is a world historic difference! It is the difference between the capitalist system, which is doomed to death, a system of ruin, destruction and bar-

barism, on the one hand, and the socialist system which is on the upgrade, a system of mass well-being, mass culture, and mass creation, on the other hand. The Hitlerites want war, for they are incapable in peace times of satisfying the elementary needs of the people. The U.S.SR. wants peace because in peaceful conditions there comes into being the fullness of the socialist life, which more and more clearly convinces the people of the superiority of the socialist system. The Red Army stands guarding peace but if war none the less should break out, then its enemies will learn that socialism is superior to the capitalist system, not merely in peace times.

The Red Army causes the German rulers disquiet. The fascists are beginning to understand that the "drive eastwards" which they preach may end in the horse throwing off the rider, and the rider breaking his neck.

How Litvinov Finished Off the Knight of the Cheese

By L. ANTONIO

TWO people personifying two systems confronted each other at Geneva: one—the representative of the great proletarian revolution, of the great workers' and peasants' state, the mighty Land of Socialism; the other—the representative of the filthy, bloody counter-revolution in power not only in Uruguay. Litvinov quoted from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, in which the political situation of Uruguay is characterized in the following words:

> "After the declaration of its independence the history of Uruguay became a record of intrigues, financial ruin, and political folly and crime." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911, Vol. 27-28, p. 808.)

This means that in its main features, the policy of Uruguay hardly differs from the policy of the big fascist powers in Europe, that M. Huani, consequently, represented not only his own country, but a definite principle. M. Huani was well aware of his mission. He spoke not so much about his fatherland's cheese as of the foundations of the "civilization" of which Uruguay considers itself the bulwark with no less justification than does Hitler Germany. And if Goebbels declares that it is not a matter of butter, but of guns, Huani in the same tone asserts that it is not a question of cheese, but of the holy of holies of all Christian nations. But Huani was not alone in fulfilling his mission; all the fascist newspapers of Hitler Germany and other countries expressed their solidarity with him, and declared that his affair was their affair. It will therefore be quite correct to regard Litvinov and Huani as representatives of two system and to draw conclusions concerning these two systems from their behavior and methods of discussion.

Litvinov, conscious of his superior position, calmly and ironically analyzed the methods of action of the Uruguay government. The President of Uruguay wanted to inflict a subject, allegedly an anarchist, upon the U.S.S.R., and was very much insulted when the U.S.S.R. replied with a polite refusal. But the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Uruguay offered assurances that Monsieur le President could be pacified if his wound were healed with cheese, *i.e.*, by buying several hundred tons of Uruguay cheese. When the U.S.S.R. declined this proposal as well, the President decided to defend the foundations of civilization from Bolshevism, and the uprising in neighboring Brazil became the immediate pretext for this.

Who financed this uprising? Of course, you see, the Soviet mission

in Uruguay. True, Brazil, in consequence of the awful social oppression which reigns there, has for years been notorious, like Uruguay, as a country of constant uprisings. But the unsuccessful cheese deal, the reading of fake documents and speeches, alleged to have been uttered by the Communist Wang Ming (moreover, according to the crudely concocted fabrication, Comrade Wang Ming is not a Chinese, but a Dutch Communist), and the wind blowing from other counter-revolutionary states, convinced the dashing President of the guilt of the Soviet Embassy. Out of all these ingredients, a diplomatic note was drawn up, which gave rise to delight among the fascists of all countries.

As regards this note, Litvinov said:

> "While there are no concrete accusations in the Uruguay note, there is a long dissertation on the subject of an uprising which recently took place in Brazil, and the suggestion that since there was a Soviet mission in Uruguay, then there must be some connection between these two phenomena."

The counter-revolution, which gives definite shape to the outlook of the man in the street, with the help of forged documents and the enthusiasm of ignorance, systematically establishes similar connections. In this respect, Litvinov pointed out the following:

> "It is not the first time that we have heard such accusations levelled against the Soviet government, but never, I repeat, never in a single case, have proofs been produced to support such accusations, with the exception of the forged documents fabricated by Russian counter-revolutionary emigrants and the elements close to them. I have no doubt that if the government of Uruguay or the fascist government of Brazil so desire, they will find no difficulty in getting hold of such documents even here in Geneva. The demand for them on the European market has fallen considerably now, and they can probably be obtained at dumping prices."

Further, Comrade Litvinov not only convinced world public opinion that the government of Uruguay is not in a position to prove a single one of its accusations, but he taught the world situated on the other side of the Soviet frontiers, the world shaken with crisis and want, an extremely edifying lesson in history. He related the bloody history of Brazil and Uruguay, and finally forced all those present to ponder over the fact that revolutions are not made by speeches delivered at a distance of several thousand kilometers, but necessarily arise out of the internal situation of Brazil and Uruguay (and many other countries). The members of the League of Nations listened to the masterfully prepared lecture, in which an absolutely business-like approach was combined with intellectual and moral superiority and with the full consciousness of Litvinov's own power.

And Litvinov's opponent? He was a sufficiently well-known type such as is to be found in many countries, the type of furiously hysterical individual who hides his ignorance behind pathos, and his unimportance in affairs behind loud phrases. Huani was unable to offer a single atom

of proof, was unable to substantiate a single one of his assertions, was unable to refute a single one of the arguments put forward by Comrade Litvinov, but he made up for this by holding forth with such frenzy that Goebbels and Hitler might have envied him. The words with which he ended his speech might well adorn the pages of the *Voelkischer Beobachter*:

> "The hour has come for us to defend ourselves against the onslaught of the theories which emanate from Moscow, theories which aim at destroying the foundations of the family, religion, social order, and even civilization, throughout the world."

Thus it was that M. Huani converted stale cheese into a world philosophy, worthy of the fascism which applauded him and accepted his defeat as a defeat for itself. Comrade Litvinov spoke of the forces with whose aid this knight of the cheese had become transformed into a participant in the crusade against the U.S.S.R., in the following words:

> "In allowing itself to cast insinuations against the Soviet government, the government of Uruguay undoubtedly speculated on certain prejudices against the Soviet Union which exist among the reactionary circles in many countries.
>
> "Unfortunately, speculation of this kind is common not to Uruguay alone. All the countries notorious for their aggressive policy try to hide their aggression behind similar speculation. The same speculation is used to cover up the violation of the independence of China and the conquest of one of her provinces after another. And an attempt is being made by another state in Europe itself, to use the same speculation to cover up its tremendous armaments for aggressive plans in many directions. Another European country is also beginning to resort to this sort of speculation in its press, simply because the aggression it has committed has not met with the endorsement of the Soviet government."

Uruguay and its representative, Huani, under cover of the big fascist powers—Japan, Germany and Italy—bore a sheet of cheese-paper as their banner in the struggle against the Soviet Union. Ancient tragedy is followed by satire. This time the fascist stage managers first staged their satire as a prelude to the world tragedy prepared by them. The result proved to be unsatisfactory for them. Litvinov inflicted a diplomatic defeat upon Huani. This is a warning to any other Huani who may try to attack the U.S.S.R. under the guise of defending civilization. And if they set out from their world of intrigues, financial ruin, and political folly and crime to undertake an attack on the world of workers and peasants, they will suffer not merely diplomatic defeat.

On the Road to an Abundance of Products in the U.S.S.R.*

By A. I. MIKOYAN

PRACTICALLY all of Comrade Lenin's utterances in the first years of the revolution give voice to one thought: the food problem is one of the biggest difficulties of the Russian revolution.

In April 1919 Lenin said:

> "I referred here only briefly to the food situation but you all understand that this is our *chief internal difficulty.*" (*Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, Russian Ed., p. 232.)

At the Party conference in December 1919, Vladimir Ilyich formulated this thought even more strongly:

> "*The food question lies at the basis of all questions.* . . . As soon as the military situation improves in the slightest, we must devote as many forces as possible to the work in the food industry as this is *the basis of everything.* . . . Only when we solve this problem and have a socialist foundation will we be able to build on this socialist foundation the entire magnificent edifice of socialism which we have more than once begun to build from the top and which has more than once collapsed." (*Ibid.*, pp. 569-570.)

THE FOOD PROBLEM SOLVED

Today we may say that this task of solving the food question has been completed. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin we have already built the socialist foundation and are now successfully building the "magnificent edifice of socialism". Today the many millions of our country are saying in the words of Stalin that "life has become better, life has become more joyous". (*Outburst of applause.*)

Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the great man who is carrying on the work of Lenin, there has been finally solved in the historically shortest space of time in our country the peasant problem, this most difficult problem of the proletarian revolution. For the first time in the history of mankind, 100,000,000 peasants have discarded a mode of life which had become rooted through thousands of years, and passed on to a new life, to a new socialist mode of production, which is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, event in the entire history of humanity.

All the chief difficulties of the internal development of our country have been successfully overcome by us. It is inexpressibly painful

* From "The Food Industry of the U.S.S.R." Report of the People's Commissar of the Food Industry at the Joint Meeting of the All-Union Council and the Council of Nationalities of the Second Session of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R., January 16, 1936.

that in these happy days there is not among us the great Lenin who would join his joy with ours. . . .

Old Russia had no real food industry, if we exclude vodka, sugar and tobacco.

The food industry was established properly under the Soviet power and is developing only now.

It was in the years of great difficulties, when there was a shortage of bread, butter, meat, when the ration-card system was introduced to insure the transition of destitute Russia to a new cultural-technical level, to insure the going over of our peasant from the wooden plow and sickle to the tractor and combine, during this period—the period of food difficulties—that our Soviet food industry was born. It was rapidly built up because this work was directed by the Central Committee of the Party and by Comrade Stalin who led us with undaunted firmness over all the pitfalls and difficulties of the socialist remaking of the country. Even then, when we had few cattle, when we had little bread, Comrade Stalin, who saw further ahead than others, pushed forward the construction of meat combinats, canneries, mechanized bread bakeries and new enterprises of the other branches of the food industry.

The Right and "Left" deviationists at that time mocked at us, declaring that instead of attending to livestock breeding and grain these cranks are building bread factories and meat combinats, as if bread, if only there was enough of it, could not be eaten without bread factories and meat without combinats. I even recall that a complaint was sent to the Central Committee against the People's Commissariat of Supply to the effect that it was squandering money on the construction of the Moscow Meat Combinat instead of using this money for the breeding of cattle. They requested the Central Committee to intervene in order to put a stop to this "outrage".

Comrade Stalin then wrote the following note on this complaint:

> "If the People's Commissariat of Supply is to be blamed at all, it is that the construction of this combinat was begun a year too late." (*Applause.*)

Now the Moscow Meat Combinat at the peak of the season finds it difficult to handle the flow of cattle which come to it. In the fall of 1935, the Moscow Meat Combinat was handling 9,000 head of cattle a day while between 40,000 and 45,000 head of cattle awaited their turn.

Had we listened to the opportunists and not built our combinats then, what would have happened to our capital now, how would it have been possible for us to live better, to live more joyously without sufficient meat, sausage, frankfurters?

Pravda recently quoted the speech of Goering, German Air Minister, on the food question. At one time, during the difficult years here, every speaker, irrespective of the subject of his speech, always spoke on the food question. And now the German Air Minister cannot report on aviation without touching on the food question. It was difficult for us at one time to explain the absence of meat, but it is far more difficult for Goering to do so now.

When we said that today there was little bread, butter, meat, we knew that tomorrow there would be much of everything, for we were building collective and state farms, tractor and automobile plants, combine plants in order to re-equip and reconstruct the whole of agriculture. We had a program of a prosperous future, and our difficulties of growth were the difficulties of changing from capitalism to socialism. Comrade Stalin then taught us: fight, overcome difficulties; we will soon begin to live well and joyously. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*) The people believed us, and bravely overcame the difficulties of the transition period, for they all knew that they were difficulties of the change to a better life, and all now see how quickly the policy of the Party was justified in practice.

And now, when millions of the peasantry have changed from individual to collective economy, when food products have appeared here in large quantities, when the ration-card system has become a thing of the past—at this time an advanced capitalist country, Germany, is returning to the card system which we have thrown aside.

We could now sell Germany the remains of our food cards. (*Stormy applause. Laughter.*) We could give the leftovers of the cards to Comrade Rosenholtz, (Commissar for External Trade), as a new article of export in place of the articles of food that have been taken off the export list.

Here is what Goering said in his speech:

> "We have returned to Germany freedom in armaments. What significance can lack of fats and butter have in comparison with this achievement! So far as I am concerned, I am ready, for the sake of the happiness of the German people, to promise never in my life to touch butter. Every sacrifice should seem easy to us if it helps in the acquisition of cannon, shells, airplanes. . . ."

Note, comrades, that he says "ready" to give a promise, but just the same he did not give a promise, and he himself has not yet given up the use of butter. (*Laughter, stormy and prolonged applause.*)

But inasmuch as the Minister has to give such a monastic promise—never in his life to touch butter—this shows that the Minister has no prospects, and cannot expect that butter will at some time or other be a food accessible to the population. This is because Germany is witnessing the sunset of capitalism; its economic and political organism is decaying. Here with us even in the most difficult years of revolution, behind the din of construction there was to be heard the tread of a new, happy life, which has now arrived.

We can now say that our country has a food industry just as she has a powerful heavy industry.

During the First Five-Year Plan period 2,000,000,000 rubles were invested in the food industry, and during the first three years of the Second Five-Year Plan period, 2,800,000,000 rubles. Investments in construction in three years were more than during the whole preceding Five-Year Plan period. Investments indicated for 1936 amount

to 1,155,000,000 rubles. As you see, the state is giving enormous amounts of money for the development of the food industry.

During these years 19 large meat combinats were built and put into operation, eight bacon plants, ten new sugar plants, 41 large canning plants, 37 refrigerating plants, 11 flax plants, 205 mechanized butter dairies, nine candy factories, 33 milk plants, 11 margarine plants, 178 bread bakeries, 22 tea factories, and a number of enterprises of other branches.

I should make the reservation that in my report I am considering only the all-Union food industry, only the industry of the People's Commissariat of Food Industry, but there is also the local and handicraft food industry. If we are to include the entire food industry of the country, much must be added to these figures. It must therefore be remembered that in the figures given in my report, only enterprises of the all-Union food industry which are subordinate to the People's Commissariat of Food Industry are spoken of.

As you have already been told by Comrade Molotov in his remarkable report, the 1935 plan of the food industry was fulfilled 111.5 per cent. (*Applause.*) Output in 1935 was 23 per cent more than output of the previous year, and 12 per cent more than the 1935 task of the Second Five-Year Plan. According to the Second Five-Year Plan, the food industry was to have increased production in 1937 2.5 times over that of 1932, the last year of the First Five-Year Plan period. In 1933, the People's Commissariat of Food Industry increased production 10.3 per cent as compared with 1932; the increase in 1934 was 26.9 per cent; in 1935, 23 per cent. According to the plan for 1936, industry of the People's Commissariat of Food Industry must produce 9,150,000,000 rubles (in fixed 1926-27 prices), which is more than twice the entire production of 1932. (*Applause.*)

We are fulfilling the Second Five-Year Plan normally, and we do not doubt that we will fulfil it completely and ahead of scheduled date.

Several branches of our industry will produce as much according to the 1936 plan as was planned for the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan. For instance, production of granulated sugar in 1936 will be as much as was planned for 1937 by the Second Five-Year Plan—25,000,000 centners.* Production of lump sugar in 1936 will be more than the amount that was to have been produced in the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan period—10,000,000 centners instead of 7,500,000.

In 1936 we shall produce 170,000 tons of sausage, whereas according to plan 135,000 tons were to have been produced in the last year of the Second Five-Year Plan period. We shall produce 600,000 tons of mixed fodder for animals in 1936, which is the amount planned for 1937. And there is a possibility of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan in four years in a number of other branches of the food industry. (*Applause.*)

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY OF THE U.S.S.R. OCCUPIES THE FIRST PLACE IN THE WORLD FOR SUGAR OUTPUT

You remember that at the Stakhanov conference, Comrade Stalin

* One centner equals 110.23 pounds.—*Ed.*

in his interjection set the task of producing at least 130,000,000 poods of sugar. This was at the end of November when the delivery of beet had not yet been completed and the prospects of the production season in the sugar industry were not yet entirely clear. This interjection of Comrade Stalin became a program of struggle for the workers of the sugar industry. Comrade Stalin's words caused such enthusiasm as we had never before witnessed in the sugar industry. Just today the directors of the sugar refineries, the directors of the sugar trusts, and Stakhanovites of the sugar industry have written a report to Comrade Stalin. In this report they say:

> "Dear leader and teacher,
>
> "At the All-Union Stakhanov Conference, you, Comrade Stalin, set us the task of giving the country 130,000,000 poods of sugar from the beet harvest. Our People's Commissar took this task upon himself. We are happy to report to you that your task has been carried out in full. (*Prolonged, stormy applause.*) On January 14, 1936, the sugar refineries had produced 130,300,000 poods of sugar. (*Applause.*) We are fighting now to produce by the end of the production season another 11-12,000,000 poods, that is, a total of 141-142,000,000 poods of sugar. (*Applause.*)
>
> "These results have become possible only thanks to the development of the Stakhanov movement in our factories."

Comrades, in this connection it is of interest to cite some figures on the production of sugar in the capitalist countries. I am taking the figures from the German magazine *Die Zucker Industrie.*

During the 1934-35 season Germany produced 16,700,000 centners of raw sugar, equal in terms of white granulated sugar to 91,800,000 poods; Czechoslovakia 6,400,000 centners or in terms of white sugar 35,000,000 poods; Poland 4,500,000 centners or in terms of white sugar 24,500,000 poods; France 12,200,000 centners or in terms of white sugar 67,000,000 poods; Great Britain produced 6,900,000 centners or in terms of white sugar 38,000,000 poods.

In the United States the output of beet sugar was 11,800,000 centners, and of cane sugar 2,500,000 centners (without the colonies), which in terms of white sugar amounts to a total of 78,000,000 poods. Even if we add sugar produced from corn—4,000,000 centners, or in terms of white sugar 15,000,000 poods—the total output of all kinds of sugar in the United States was equal to 93,000,000 poods. I am not citing figures on India, as India produces chiefly brown sugar from sugar cane, made in large quantities by domestic and artisan methods.

How far our country, particularly the Ukraine, has progressed in the best-growing field and in the production of sugar may be seen from the fact that Vinnitsa Province alone, the Vinnitsa sugar trust alone, is producing this year 34,400,000 poods of sugar while the whole of Poland produces 24,500,000 poods, that is, Vinnitsa Province alone has far outstripped the whole of Poland. (*Applause.*) The Kiev and Kharkov Provinces are each producing more than Poland, too.

In 1921, the year of the lowest decline of the sugar industry, the output of sugar in the country amounted to 3,000,000 poods.

Even in 1933 our country held sixth place in world production of beet sugar. In 1934-35 when we produced 78,000,000 poods we at once stepped from sixth to third place. *Now in 1935 we occupy first place in world production of sugar.* (*Applause.*)

Comrade Stalin, in his speech at the first Stakhanovite Conference, set the task of harvesting next year in the Ukraine 200 to 250 centners of beet per hectare. This found a reflection in the national economic plan which provides for a gross beet harvest next year of 254,000,000 centners. In terms of sugar, even assuming that digestibility will be lower than this year· this will mean 210-220,000,000 poods. What place will we then assume in the world production of beet sugar if we are already holding first place this year? (*Applause.*) Are there any more places? We are producing twice as much sugar as Germany, twice as much as America. (*Applause.*)

THE FISH INDUSTRY OCCUPIES THE SECOND PLACE IN THE WORLD OUTPUT

Another important branch of the food industry has achieved great successes this year. I have in mind the fish industry.

The following figures tell of the re-equipment of the fish industry.

In 1929 the industry had 560 motor boats with a total capacity of 37,000 hp. At present we have 3,150 boats of 230,000 hp. capacity. In other words, the motor boat fleet has increased to seven times. By January 1, 1933, the fish industry possessed 19 refrigerators, whereas now we have 26. In 1928 we had only four refrigerators.

We began fish canning in the Far East in 1923 with two small enterprises. By 1929 the number of canneries there was increased to 12. But at present we have 41 canneries in the Far East. (*Applause.*) A total of 55 fish canneries with a capacity of 252,000,000 cans is now operating throughout the Soviet Union. Twenty-eight plants producing cod liver oil and fish fodder meal are operating in our country. Formerly we had no such enterprises but only several small primitive shops. There are also two very large ship-repairing plants, 14 dockyards for wooden shipbuilding, 26 cooperages, among which are eight plants equipped with most modern coopering machines.

In 1929 the fish industry of the Soviet Union occupied fifth place in the world. In 1935, having caught 15,500,000 centners of fish (together with the local industry), we rose to second place (*applause*), leaving behind the United States, England and Norway. First place still belongs to Japan which catches fish from the extreme north to the equator, also including fisheries in our Soviet waters.

CANNED GOODS

I have already spoken of the fish canning industry, but canning is not limited to the preparation of fish. We have organized a large-scale industry for canning meat, fruit, vegetables and milk.

In 1928 we produced 21,000,000 cans of meat products and in 1935, 140,000,000 cans, a seven-fold increase. This year we plan to turn out 216,000,000 cans of meat and meats and vegetables combined. In 1928, 33,000,000 cans of fish products were produced and 136,000,000 cans in 1935, whereas this year's program provides for 178,000,000 cans. Canned vegetables amounted to 20,000,000 cans in 1928, 72,000,000 cans last year and 100,000,000 cans will be turned out in 1936. Canned fruit: 3,000,000 cans in 1928 and 272,000,000 cans in 1935 whereas the 1936 program provides for 298,000,000 cans. Tomatoes: 13,000,000 cans in 1928 and 161,000,000 cans in 1935. No canned milk was produced in this country in 1928. We began to produce it only in 1932 when we turned out 2,000,000 cans. This figure increased to 4,000,000 in 1933, to 8,900,000 cans in 1934 and 16,000,000 cans in 1935. This year the industry will turn out 25,406,000 cans of milk products.

The production of canned milk is of first-rate importance. This is one of the industries for which there are unlimited prospects of development. There is an inadequate supply in the big towns of full-cream milk, which can only be supplied fresh from districts close by, whereas the consumption of milk in our country is constantly growing. Canned milk is also required for a number of branches of the food industry. Confectionery need not be made from full-cream milk—the children need it. For the same reason we cannot allow full-cream milk to be used for the manufacture of margarine, chocolate, etc. All these products must be made from the best quality tinned condensed milk. The basis for the development of the condensed milk industry is our far-distant outlying regions from where milk cannot be so easily transported, and where there is so much milk that they don't know what to do with it (for example, Kazakstan, Siberia, Bashkiria). Condensed milk will be supplied from these places to the towns, to the Northern regions where there are not sufficient cows, to the cotton fields of Uzbekistan, to Baku, to Magnitogorsk, Halilstroi, Murmansk, Kamchatka, the gold mines, etc. In the winter, in general, there is little milk. How can we compensate for the inadequate supply of milk at this time? The only way is to use condensed milk, which is a highly nutritous product with a pleasant flavor.

We are already able to produce a large quantity of such canned products. We also make milk powder which when dissolved in water produces normal milk as tasty and nutritious as fresh milk. Six plants produce condensed milk and milk powder. We are constructing two new factories and plan to construct another seven in 1937. We have recently begun to produce condensed milk combined with cocoa and coffee.

This product is very convenient for expeditions, for tourists, for our Red Army. We shall develop to the utmost the production of this type of canned food.

MEAT AND SAUSAGES

One of the important branches of the food industry is the meat industry. The state meat enterprises, not to mention the local enter-

prises, produced 343,000 tons of meat (centralized fund) in 1932, and 533,000 tons in 1935, whereas this year the meat combinats are scheduled to produce 650,000 tons, almost twice as much as in 1932.

Besides the government supply of meat to the towns, a great deal of meat is supplied to the markets by the collective farms. . . . A very important branch of the meat industry is the production of different varieties of sausages. In 1933, the sausage works gave an output of 36,000 tons, in 1934, 47,000 tons; in 1935, 111,000 tons. In 1936, we must have an output of 170,000 tons of different varieties of sausages (*applause*).

The sausage industry is soaring upwards. In 1933, the meat industry produced 17 varieties of sausages and smoked foodstuffs. In 1934, 41 varieties; and in 1935, 111 varieties (*applause*). In December 1934, Leningrad produced 92,000 kilograms of small sausages, and in December 1935, 560,000. In December 1934, Moscow produced 68,000 kilograms and in December 1935, 974,000 kilograms (*applause*). This is not the limit. We shall produce a considerably larger quantity of these foodstuffs.

Some people may think that Comrade Stalin, who is burdened with big questions of international and home policy, is not in a position to pay attention to things like the production of sausages. That is not true. That is not the case at all. It happens that sometimes the People's Commissar of the Food Industries forgets a little point, and then Comrade Stalin reminds him of it. I once told Comrade Stalin that I wanted to expand the production of sausages. Comrade Stalin approved the decision, remarking in this connection that in America the sausage manufacturers had become rich from this business. And especially so from the sale of hot sausages at sports grounds and other places where the people are gathered in crowds. They had become millionaires, "sausage kings". (*Laughter.*)

Of course, comrades, we want no kings, but sausages must be made available everywhere.

I must state that the People's Commissariat of the Food Industries is prepared to ensure to our trading centers a steady supply of meat, sausages, smoked meats, and what is more, of the best quality. We are paying special attention today to the quality of our products.

BUTTER AND CHEESE

Here are a few figures on the production of butter. They refer only to butter from the factories, because the home production of butter is not taken into account. In 1928, the amount of butter worked up in factories amounted to 82,000 tons; in 1932 the quantity fell to 71,600 tons; in 1933 it had risen again to 124,000 tons; in 1934, 138,000 tons; in 1935, 154,000 tons. In 1936 we shall produce 193,000 tons, almost 200,000 tons of good butter. This is almost three times as much as we had in 1932, and twice as much as in 1913 (*applause*).

In 1932, 35,000 tons of butter were sold on the home market and in 1935 this figure rose to 117,000 tons, exceeding more than three times the amount sold in 1932. This increase is seen when one goes shopping

in Soviet stores. Everybody sees clearly that there is a sufficient amount of good butter in our country. And there will be still more.

The quality of butter has improved. . . . One comrade asked me the following: how is it that although we have fewer cows than before the war, there is more butter? What is the explanation? I explained this to him quite simply. Our dairy live-stock farming has become more productive than before. Before the war, for example, the Siberian cows never had warm sheds. They resisted the attack of the Siberian frosts with their own warm skins, and a tremendous amount of their vital energy went not to produce milk, but to keep their bodies warm. Now the Siberian cow for the first time has gone into its warm shed in the collective and Soviet state farms. It is better cared for, and it gives more milk. And when the productivity of the cows increases still more, and it will rapidly increase, there will be more and more milk. The second reason is the fact that the collective form of farming and especially the Soviet state farming gives a higher quota of products to the market as compared with the individual peasant farms. It is enough to point to the fact that in 1936 the Soviet state farms alone, with 1,170,000 cows (leaving out of account the farms controlled by various workers' supply organizations) will supply 72,000 tons of butters, *i.e.*, exactly the same amount as was obtained in 1932 from all the cows in the country. . . . The butter industry has been re-equipped to a considerable degree. We now have 403 well-equipped mechanized works. These produce high quality butter with an average 92.4 grade. However, we still have a large number of non-mechanized butter works, which must be substituted by up-to-date mechanized, larger works, so that they will supply better quality butter in order to embrace the growing mass of raw material and so as further to improve the quality of the butter. . . .

In 1935 we produced 19,500 tons of cheese as against 14,300 in 1932. The manufacture of cheese in our country is backward, and we must develop it more rapidly. Not all yet have a taste for cheese, but a taste for it should be inculcated. Cheese is one of the most nutritious products rich in albumins and fats.

Prior to the war Russia produced ten kinds of manufactured cheese whereas now we produce 24 varieties and in addition to this five kinds of process cheese. We intend to produce from 60 to 70 kinds of various cheeses next year. Why should we have a smaller variety than that produced in France? Our country is richer, we have all kinds of milk and can manufacture a great quantity of different kinds of cheese.

That is why in 1936 we shall build new cheese factories and more rapidly finish those which are under construction.

THE OIL AND FATS INDUSTRY

A few words about vegetable oil. In 1932 the output of vegetable oil amounted to 338,000 tons and in 1935 to 408,000 tons, whereas this year we are scheduled to produce 475,000 tons. . . .

Complete reconstruction of the oil and fats industry, creation of a network of hydrogenation and oleomargarine factories, the putting into

operation of powerful oil extracting plans in Voroshilov and Krasnodar, and the forthcoming completion of the oil extracting mill now under construction in Katta-Kurgan will make it possible to develop the production of vegetable oils. The lag of the raw material base of the vegetable oil industry cannot be tolerated any longer. The yield of oil-bearing crops must be sharply raised within the next few years by guaranteeing proper care of the sowings and complete fulfilment of the plan for deliveries. . . .

A few words on margarine. We produced 83,000 tons of margarine the past year. Some people here objected to the production of margarine because they had heard that in Europe margarine was made of adulterated products. We make margarine out of excellent vegetable oils to which we add milk and eggs. It is impossible to fry meat in sunflower seed oil; it is also bad to fry meat in sheep fat or suet because these fats congeal rapidly while margarine is very good for frying. Margarine is one of the most nourishing and most easily assimilated products, one which can be almost as easily assimilated as animal fats. We have 11 new first-grade margarine factories. In addition to margarine these factories also produce refined, odorless vegetable oils (that is, clarified and freed of any odors). This fat is sold in packages in the Gastronoms and grocery stores.

We also make various kinds of dressings, the so-called mayonnaise. . .

Up to and throughout 1933 we were very badly off insofar as the manufacture of soap was concerned. But then Comrade Stalin called us together and demanded that a large quantity of soap of high quality appear in the country. Soap production was transferred from the People's Commissariat of Light Industry to the People's Commissariat of Food Industry and only then was the production of a large amount of high quality soap begun. In 1932 the soap produced amounted to 292,000 tons, in 1935 to 442,000 tons. Now there is quite enough soap. If there is a lack anywhere it is only because the trading network has been unable to get it there.

And the chief thing is that we are now making soap of the highest quality. When Comrades Stalin, Molotov and Kaganovich investigated the question as to the sort of soap we intended producing, the bar was put up against the production of soap containing less than 4 per cent fats. . . . Comrade Stalin devotes attention, in addition, to things for which one would imagine he has no time at all. For example, the production of perfumery and cosmetics. We are producing good soap and eau de cologne, but we are somewhat behind with our perfumes. Comrades Stalin and Molotov gave us their support, supplied us with gold for the import of perfumed oils. Now we are beginning to build up our own aromatic oil industry—rose oil, geranium oil and different varieties of synthetic oil, of which 72 varieties were imported. During the coming two or three years we shall secure the production of all aromatic oils inside the country.

The perfumery and cosmetics industry has grown to the following dimensions (the year 1935 is expressed in percentages of the year 1932):

eau de cologne, 210 per cent; perfumes, 155 per cent; scented waters, 287 per cent; cosmetics, 117 per cent; tooth powder, 244 per cent. . . .

MILK AND ICE CREAM

I shall pass on to the dairy industry. We now have dairy combinats in more than 50 cities. Thirty-three of them are new. The best of them are in Leningrad and Moscow.

Last year the dairy combinats furnished 207,000 tons of milk products compared with the 49,000 tons in 1932. In 1936 they must furnish 285,000 tons. In those cities which have dairy combinats the population gets milk that is 76 per cent pasteurized. The combinats produce a tremendous amount of various products from milk: different kinds of cream cheese, sweetened chocolate; kefir, sour milk, sour cream, ice cream.

In 1936 we shall build four ice cream plants and many new shops in the refrigerating and dairy combinats. This is a new branch of industry with great prospects. Until now ice cream was eaten by bourgeois families, on great holidays, at weddings or birthdays, while now ice cream should and can be made a mass product for the day's diet, sold at low prices. Ice cream should be produced summer and winter, in the South and in the North.

BREAD-BAKING AND CONFECTIONERY

I will not go into details on the bread-baking industries. Comrade Badayev will speak and relate how we have made a complete revolution in the bread industry: 61 per cent of all the bread produced is baked in mechanized bakeries, and if we are to take into account all the mechanized bakeries, which we have, then the total amount of bread baked by mechanical means amounts to 78 per cent. . . .

And now we have automatic bread factories, where the workers are employed seven hours a day, where the workers take a shower-bath every day, where no worker is allowed to be employed unless he has passed a medical inspection, and where there is strict medical supervision. Here laboratories have been installed which analyze and test the quality of bread, the flour, the water, and so on, thus guaranteeing good quality for each ingredient and the highest quality bread. Mechanized bread-baking is a new industry, and this industry will grow and develop. From year to year the quality of all articles made from flour will improve. Great advantages accrue from the production of bread in mechanized factories: whereas the cost of producing a pood of bread in ordinary bakeries is six rubles, the cost in the automatic factories is only three rubles. Half the cost. In the year 1936 we shall try to increase the number of these factories.

After the abolition of the ration card system, the quality of bread improved and an increased number of different varieties was produced. In Moscow and Leningrad today, as many as 150 varieties of bread are produced. In towns like Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, Sverdlovsk and Minsk, there are over 60 kinds of bread produced—this is less than in Moscow

and Leningrad, but it is also pretty fair. But it is bad in the other towns, where only 10 to 12 varieties of bread are produced.

For example, five varieties of rye bread are baked in Moscow (sour, sweet, Riga, Finnish, Borodin). There are ten varieties of white bread, over 30 kinds of buns, and dozens of kinds of rusks and baranki (ring-shaped baked dough). . . . We have a confectionery industry which is well equipped technically, and have good cadres of workers, and can produce confectionery in enormous quantities and of good quality. Why did we produce confectionery of bad quality previously? Formerly, there was no sugar, and so the consumer bought any quality confectionery, even the very worst. And now that there is an abundance of sugar, our consumer only wants the best sweets. If the sweets are bad, then he prefers to buy sugar. . . .

SPIRITS AND RUBBER

Permit me, comrades, in concluding the survey of the most important branches of industry to pause on the alcohol industry. The alcohol industry has acquired particular significance. Hitherto alcohol was used exclusively for the production of vodka products. Now alcohol has begun to acquire great significance in the chemical industry and in the national economy as a whole.

In speaking about the results of the First Five-Year Plan, Comrade Stalin said that we had become economically independent of foreign countries, except as regards rubber. And now we can say that as regards rubber also the U.S.S.R. is not dependent upon the capitalist world. The People's Commissariat of the Heavy Industries has begun to make synthetic rubber from spirits. In 1934, 7,000 tons were produced, in 1935, 25,000 tons, and in 1936, 42,000 tons of rubber will be produced. This Soviet rubber is being made from our good, strong spirits. (*Applause.*)

True, we still import a certain amount of rubber from abroad, but this will only continue until we have sufficiently developed our own rubber industry.

A few figures on the use of alcohol. Before the war, 75,000 decaliters were used for medicinal purposes; today 600,000 are used. Perfumeries (eau de Cologne and perfumes) used 133,000 decaliters before the war; now they use 460,000 decaliters. Hitherto none of it was used for rubber; now 26 per cent of the total production of our alcohol is used for rubber.

Before the war, 95 per cent of the total output of spirits went to produce vodka and other wines and strong drink. Now 50 per cent of the total output of spirits goes to the production of vodka and an additional 5 per cent for wines. Thus, only 55 per cent of the output of spirits is used for strong liquors. The remainder is used for technical requirements. . . . Some think and say that a great deal of vodka is drunk in Russia, and that little is drunk abroad. This is a totally incorrect idea. Here are the figures of the consumption per capita of vodka, wine and beer in terms of pure alcohol, in the year 1931; France, 18.9 litres; Belgium, 11.2; England, 3.2; U.S.S.R., 1.6 litres.

If we take only vodka and liquors containing vodka (without wines and beer), the figure per capita of the population is a follows: France, 9.4 litres; Belgium, 3.5; England, 1.4, U.S.S.R., 3.7 litres. The consumption of beer per capita in France is 35 litres; Belgium, 228 litres; England, 62 litres; U.S.S.R., 3 litres.

In France, the consumption of wine per capita is 171 litres; in Belgium, 4 litres; U.S.S.R., only .6 litres. Half a litre per person! In the South more wine is drunk and in the North very little. But why is it that the Russians are still considered notorious drinkers? Because under the tsar the people were drunkards, and they did not drink out of joy, but out of misery and poverty. They drank purposely to become drunk and forget all about their cursed lives. An individual would find himself with enough for a bottle of vodka, and would drink it, and not having enough money for food, he would, since there was nothing to eat, make himself drunk. Now life has become more joyful. You don't get drunk when life is good and there is enough to eat. (*Laughter, applause.*) Life has become more joyful, and we can drink, but drink so that we remain conscious of our surroundings and do not injure our health. (*Laughter, applause.*)

THE CAPITALISTS PRODUCE GOODS FOR THE SAKE OF PROFITS AND WE PRODUCE TO SATISFY THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE TOILERS

Comrades, the problem of producing consumers' goods and foodstuffs, as all production in general, is on a different footing in this country than in the capitalist countries. There they manufacture for profits. As soon as the capitalist ceases to derive profits, he either curtails or discontinues production. No profits, no production.

In this country we produce not for profits but in order to satisfy the needs of our population. It happens at times that the state goes in for manufacturing certain commodities at a loss, if they are needed by the country. The satisfaction of the country's demands is our uppermost consideration in economic calculations. Calculation of course is an important matter, but it ought to be subordinated to the problem of satisfying the needs of the country.

In South America not long ago they destroyed huge quantities of coffee, burning 22,000,000 bags of it. Here is the story as told by a bourgeois correspondent:

> "Santos is the largest coffee city in Brazil, second in importance in the whole of South America. The first thing which strikes the eye of the foreigner upon arrival in the bay on which this city is situated is a huge bonfire extending for 400 meters along the shore. This bonfire is fed by a new kind of fuel, coffee. The whole bay is enshrouded in heavy leaden clouds of smoke which are constantly fed by this huge beacon of the economic crisis. The nightmare of these fires haunts the traveler far into the interior of the country. Arriving at night in the Chicago of South America, the largest Brazilian industrial center at

Sao Paolo, one finds the road illuminated by huge flames of burning coffee on either side of the railway tracks, creating the eerie impression of a living army of fiery ghosts."

Then they went on to destroy the coffee plants. They have now succeeded in reducing the output of coffee by one-half, and they claim to have affected the regulation of coffee supplies in the required proportion. They say so because, having wrecked and curtailed the production of coffee, they have achieved higher prices and begun to derive profits from the sale of coffee. Enormous wealth is thus destroyed by capitalist economy. In Denmark alone 117,000 head of cattle, deemed to be superfluous, were destroyed. In America six million hogs were slaughtered and 225,000 sheep destroyed. There appeared to be no market for them. Of course, a market could be found for meat products, but to do this it would be necessary to do away with unemployment and starvation, and to reduce prices. Capitalists will not go in for this, as profits are their main consideration.

Matters are entirely different in this country. We are developing production for the sake of consumption. Comrade Stalin in his report at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., speaking on the development of our national economy and transport, declared that "it is time at last to realize that we are manufacturing commodities in the long run not for the sake of production, but for the sake of consumption". We produce machines not in order to possess machines, but in order to turn out commodities for consumption.

The whole meaning of socialist production is to supply the country with consumers' goods. Our ultimate aim is not profit and not production for production's sake. We are constantly increasing the output of goods. If we have an abundance of goods, the prices are reduced. The consumer is able to buy goods in the market cheaper and in larger quantities.

And our Soviet policy consists precisely in systematically reducing prices, making the products more and more accessible. Prices have been considerably cut in this country during the last eighteen months.

If we take the reduction in prices since October 1, 1934, we see the following picture: the state price of meat has been reduced by 36 per cent; of the most popular variety of sausage, 46 per cent; of fish (pike-perch), 36 per cent; cod, 66 per cent; Murmansk herring, 43 per cent; Caspian herring, 16 per cent; loaf sugar 73 per cent; biscuits, 41 per cent; canned goods, 16-26 per cent; butter, 56 per cent; sunflower-seed oil, 58 per cent; soap, 24 per cent; macaroni, 23 per cent; makhorka tobacco, 50 per cent; bread, 66 per cent.

Price cutting by the state and cooperative trading led to a considerable fall of prices in the kolkhoz market. Thus, in the Moscow kolkhoz market, the prices of meat dropped 51 per cent. There were considerable reductions in the price of pork. The price of butter was reduced by 53 per cent.

It is the set policy of the Party and the government to cut prices and enlarge the volume of goods in circulation. As a result of the cutting of state prices and the fall of prices in the market, there is a consider-

able increase of consumption. This indicates also a growth of cultured and prosperous life.

The Stakhanov movement has called forth a huge growth in the demands of the working population. Stakhanovite workers are now earning from 600 to 700 rubles and more. In this connection we were told by the December Plenum of the Central Committee to take stock of the demands of the workers, to give a better assortment and better quality of goods. The quality must be of a high order.

THE COLLECTIVE FARMER DEMANDS FACTORY-MADE PRODUCTS

Life is changing not only in the town, but also in the village. Our village is no longer what it used to be. It has ceased to make homespun cloth, it has ceased to wear bast shoes, and it has ceased to feed solely on stale bread and kvas. This is a perfectly natural development. The population has become prosperous. Life is becoming more cultured. . . .

The boundary line between town and village life is becoming obliterated. The village has grown considerably more cultured. Therefore we should give more attention to the requirements of the rural consumer. Both the food and light industries should develop production without overlooking for a single moment the demands to be made by the collective farmer for commodities of good quality. We should not lag behind the huge tempo of growth in the requirements of rural consumers. . . .

Our village is already in the market for fruit jellies, preserves, canned meat, fish and vegetables, condensed milk. It is simply amazing how the knowledge about such goods is spreading through the villages. And we shall strive our utmost to spread the news even further. It used to be the custom of displaying goods in the window which were not stocked in the store. At the present time the stores are holding abundant stocks. There should be a greater display of goods, more effective dressing of windows.

The discussion held in the present session of the Central Executive Committee on the subject of our food industry has imposed numerous obligations on us, on the workers of the food industry. It urges us to do even better work, to supply the country with still more products and of still better quality. The demands of the Soviet country are unlimited. They will go on increasing all the time. This opens boundless prospects before our food industry.

The Red Army, which is equipped with the best airplanes and tanks, we shall endeavor also to supply with the best products in the event of war.

I call to mind how the tsarist quartermasters baked rough, tasteless, bread without variety, for the soldiers. I remember how in 1919, when we, a group of Bolsheviks, were brought from Krasnovodsk to Baku, guarded by English soldiers, we were astounded at the fact that the English soldiers ate cakes, canned chicken and meat and canned beef. They had sweets and jam, canned fruits, chocolate and condensed milk.

We may declare that when the Red Army requires food products in

the event of war, it is going to get from us an abundance of condensed milk, coffee and cocoa, meat and chicken preserves, tongue preserves, confectioneries, fruit jellies, and many other articles which our country richly possesses (*applause*). . . .

Comrades, permit me to express the wish that every Communist, that every Party and non-Party Bolshevik, will take such an interest in the food industry and will help and improve it in such a way as is done in regard to the food industry by Comrade Stalin. (*Ovation in honor of Comrade Stalin.*)

Under the banner of Lenin and Stalin we shall march forward to an abundance of products, to an abundance of consumers' goods, to a cultured life for all the members of our society.

(*Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Shouts of "Hurrah!" Exclamations: "Long live the great Stalin!" "Hurrah to Mikoyan!" "Comrade Stalin, we shall fight even harder for better quality of production." Greetings to government and Party leaders from all parts of the hall.*)

The Eighteenth Anniversary of the Red Army

By K. ZELOS

"AMID the surging waves of economic shocks and military-political catastrophes, the U.S.S.R. stands out alone, like a rock, continuing its work of socialist construction, and its fight to preserve peace." (*From the Report by Stalin made to the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1935.*)

These words of the leader of the international proletariat have full force even today. The Communist Party, the government of the proletarian dictatorship, have not one whit changed their honest desire to maintain peace. Nevertheless, the incessant acts of aggression against the Soviet Union of certain capitalist states, and in particular of Japan, require that the toilers of the first proletarian state in the world be prepared at a moment's notice to defend it against foreign invasion.

That is why enormous attention is devoted in the Soviet Union to the task of defending the country, of strengthening the workers' and peasants' Red Army. The strength and might of the Red Army increase from year to year. The Red Army today is a very stable force. It is strong in its possession of the most up-to-date technique, in its excellent organization, discipline and solidarity. It is strong in its unbounded loyalty to the cause of Lenin and Stalin. It is strong in the people's love of it, unprecedented anywhere at any time before. "The strength of the Red Army is indomitable." (Voroshilov.)

• • •

The history of the Red Army is a splendid and colorful one. It has its source in the springs of the revolutionary upsurge of the working class movement of 1905. In the struggle against Russian tsarism, the Bolshevik Party under the leadership of its founder and leader, V. I. Lenin, built up the first cells of the armed proletariat—the fighting guards—which were the embryo of the future army of the proletarian dictatorship. The proletariat learned how to use firearms, learned the elements of the art of warfare, in battles against the tsarist gendarmes and the tsarist army, on the barricades of Moscow, Petersburg (Leningrad), Baku, Rostov and other big cities.

In June 1905, not long before the December armed uprising in Moscow, Lenin wrote:

> "A revolutionary army is necessary because great historic tasks can only be solved by *force*, and the organization of force in the present-day struggle is a military organization." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 383, Russian Edition.)

The lessons of the 1905 revolution—the general rehearsal of the Great October—were not wasted. In the pre-October days in 1917, in Petrograd alone there were as many as 20,000 armed Red Guards, organized in fighting units and led by commanders appointed by the Party of Bolsheviks.

Thus, the insurgent and victorious proletariat of the great socialist revolution of October 1917, even before the organization of their Red Army, had already gained experience in the creation of armed forces, and had had excellent fighting experiences.

After the victorious Octover Revolution, Red Guard detachments were formed of volunteers, but these detachments would not have been able to withstand the organized units of the counter-revolution at home and on an international scale.

The Soviet government had to set against the regular troops of the counter-revolution a large, regular army of its own, with its own commanders, its own military and technical material base, built up on the principles of military organization.

With the Decree of January 28, 1918, issued by the government of the Soviet Republic over the signature of V. I. Lenin, the basis was laid for the establishment of the workers' and peasants' Red Army.

The Red Army was created to defend the October Revolution, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

The workers' and peasants' Red Army, established by the Party of Lenin and Stalin, is the strongest weapon of the proletarian dictatorship. This new type of army, new in world history, had, and has now, nothing in common with the old tsarist army. What are the peculiar features of the Red Army?

> "The first and basic peculiar feature of our Red Army is that it is the army of the liberation of the workers and peasants, it is the army of the October Revolution, the army of the dictatorship of the proletariat.
>
> "The second peculiar feature of the Red Army is that it is an army of brotherhood between the peoples, an army to liberate the oppressed peoples, an army to defend the freedom and independence of the Socialist Republics which go to constitute the Soviet Union.
>
> "Finally, the third peculiar feature of the Red Army is the spirit of internationalism, the feelings of internationalism which penetrate the whole of our Red Army" (Stalin).

This splendid characterization of the peculiar features of the Red Army given by J. V. Stalin, the comrade-in-arms of our great Lenin, best of all reveals the class character and international significance of the Red Army.

The role of Comrade Stalin in organizing the victories of the Red Army was immeasurably great. In March 1919, at the closed session of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, where de-

cisions of importance in principle were adopted on the war question (concerning the use of military specialists, etc.), Comrade Stalin made a speech (as reporter of the Central Committee of the Party) in which he was most emphatic in advancing the task of creating a regular, efficient, politically trained Red Army.

> "Political education is of tremendous importance in the army. We must ensure that our men, both in the rear and at the front, are educated in the revolutionary spirit. We must ensure that a regular army is established which is ready to go into battle at any moment."

A regular army was formed. The Party, led by Lenin, sent Comrade Stalin to those points where mortal danger menaced the revolution. This was the case on the Southeastern front, where Stalin's brilliant leadership secured the heroic defense of Tsarytsin, which at that time was the stategic wedge between the forces of the counter-revolution in the South and in the East.

This was the case in the struggle against Denikin in the South, where the brilliant, strategic, Stalinist plan of routing the tsarist general ensured the splendid victory of the Red Army over the numerous forces of the enemy; this was also the case on other fronts.

The Stalinist plan of routing Denikin was to deliver the main blow at the White army through the proletarian Donetz Basin, where the Red Army not only met with the support of the local population, but considerably reinforced its ranks with an excellent, militant contingent of fighters and political leaders from among the proletarians of the Donetz Basin.

This strategic Stalinist plan of operations has gone down in military history as a most brilliant example of military art, based on a complete Marxist analysis of all the factors of the concrete situation. As we know, Trotsky who at that time was at the head of the Red Army resisted the operation of Stalin's plan with all his might. As against Stalin's plan he set his own worthless, politically short-sighted plan of crushing Denikin "by the shortest" route across the Don region, inhabited at that time by counter revolutionary kulak elements among the Cossacks.

The activities of Trotsky together with all his advisers—military specialists among whom there were quite a number of direct agents of the counter-revolution—all but ruined the then young Soviet Republic. Only the energetic interference of Lenin, who wholeheartedly supported all the measures proposed by Stalin and who, to all intents and purposes, removed Trotsky from the leadership, saved the situation and ensured the brilliant culminating point of victory over the counter-revolutionary forces of the South.

Trotsky, the old Menshivik, joined the ranks of the Bolsheviks during the period of the stormy rise of the wave of revolution in 1917, hiding away his Menshevik baggage, and later, as we know, took his place in the front ranks of the counter-revolution, occupied an anti-Leninist position not only in his appraisal of the proletarian revolution,

the ways of socialist construction, but also on military questions.

The anti-Leninist position of Trotsky on questions of building up the armed forces was expressed in a stubborn struggle against the Party leadership in the Red Army in ignoring this leadership. Trotsky resisted the introduction of the institution of military commissars and political departments, and later ignored and tried to discredit these direct representatives of the Party in the ranks of the Red Army.

Trotsky adopted an uncritical attitude on the question of using bourgeois military specialists; he put excessive confidence in them.

Trotsky was also against applying the principles of Marxism to the building up of the Red Army, and denied any place to Marxism in military affairs.

It is to Comrade Stalin that the great merit belongs of establishing the First Cavalry Army, headed by Comrades Voroshilov and Budyonny, in spite of the opposition of Trotsky.

It is characteristic that Trotsky raised quite a number of obstacles in this regard, too. He resisted, by all means possible, the creation of the Cavalry Army.

No less great was the role played by Stalin in wiping out the last armed stronghold of the Russian and international counter-revolution of Baron Wrangel.

The far from complete facts, quoted above, of the activities of Comrade Stalin on the fronts of the civil war serve all the more to emphasize the exceptional role he played in bringing about the destruction of all counter-revolutionary armies. The decisive operations performed by the Red Army were carried out against the will of Trotsky and under the direct leadership of Comrade Stalin. The name of Stalin is firmly inscribed in letters of gold on the old fighting banners, blackened by powder and smoke, of regiments, divisions, corps and armies. The unforgetable days of the magnificent victories of the Red Army on the fields of the civil war are linked up with his name.

* * *

For three years an intense struggle was carried on against the enemies of the proletarian revolution; for three years the Red Army, technically weak, but strong in revolutionary enthusiasm, heroically conquered the numerous hordes of its enemies. In this difficult and fierce struggle, the Red Army, under the wise leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the great strategists of the class struggle, grew strong and steeled, and trained and promoted a number of brilliant army leaders, who came from the heart of the masses of the people, and who had never been military specialists. The names of the talented proletarian leaders and commanders of the Red Army—Comrades *Frunze, Voroshilov, Kirov, Kuibyshev, Budyonny, Blucher, Tukhachevsky, Yegorov,* and the legendary heroes, Chapayev, Shorss, etc.—are familiar and dear not only to the toilers of the U.S.S.R., but to the toilers throughout the world.

Almost fifteen years have passed since the time of the last battles of

the Civil War years. The Red Army meets its eighteenth anniversary at a time when its country is living in conditions of extraordinary prosperity and might. Wise Leninist-Stalinist leadership has brought the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the international proletariat—out of poverty, hunger and cold, on to the bright, broad road of general cultural and technical progress, on to the road to the classless, socialist society.

The face of the Soviet Union has become unrecognizable, the workers' and peasants' Red Army, its faithful guard, is also unrecognizable.

Having maintained "its three peculiarities", so aptly characterized by Stalin, sacredly safeguarding the fighting traditions of its glorious past, the Red Army, with the wealth of modern technique it has obtained from socialist industry, has become a modernized army.

Comrade Voroshilov, Marshal of the Soviet Union, in his speech delivered at the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites said the following:

> "You know our airplanes, you often see our tanks, guns, machine-guns, rifles, all our war ammunition. They all look excellent; they are all fine, admirable, powerful armaments."
>
> "Bad tanks," added the People's Commissar for Defense, "cannot cover a distance of 700 kilometers in big groups in the course of a few days, three-quarters of which distance was covered through water, and without a single accident or breakdown. They have to be fine tanks, and they are."

But it is not in technique alone that the Red Army is strong. Speaking at the same conference of Stakhanov workers, Comrade Stalin said:

> "You may have first-class technique, first-class mills and factories, but if you have not the people capable of harnessing that technique, you will find that your technique is jure bare technique."

The might of the Red Army lies first and foremost in the living people who have mastered this technique. The Stalinist slogan, "Cadres decide everything" has been the guiding star, the militant program of the work of the Red Army.

Attention to the needs of the human being and care of people constitute the key to the colossal successes achieved by the Red Army during the last year. These successes in the military and political training of the Red Army merged into a real triumph when, before the end of the academic year, during the Kiev maneuvers in 1935, it passed the test before all the toilers of the Union, before its leader Voroshilov, for the right to be called the best trained, best organized and disciplined army in the world. Was it not a real triumph, when, during the maneuvers, 1,200 parachutists jumped simultaneously, and when 2,500 men were landed from airplanes in 40 minutes? In a military area adjacent to Kiev, 1,800 men were dropped simultaneously and 5,700 men landed from airplanes. Nowhere in the world is parachuting so widespread as in the U.S.S.R. This is only possible in the Land of

Socialism, where the toiling masses are self-sacrificingly devoted to their fatherland, where labor has become a matter of honor, glory, prowess and heroism.

Even foreign military specialists have been compelled to recognize the colossal successes of the Red Army. For example, this is the opinion of General Fayer, head of the Czech Air Delegation, on Soviet aviation:

> "The love for their work and the will that can be seen in the Soviet parachutists and glider and plane pilots are worthy of admiration. One can always create the material side. But it is incomparably more difficult to create strong, conscious, human material. This has been achieved here, and herein lies the greatest achievement."

We could quote from the innumerable utterances made by foreign military and civil personages praising our Red Army.

Side by side with all this praise of the Red Army, there are not a few slanderous accusations against the "imperialist tendencies of the Red Army and the Soviet government" to be met with in the camp of the bourgeoisie, especially among the German fascists. The Soviet government, regardless of the fury of the fascists, who spread their slander about the aggressive plans of the U.S.S.R. and about Red imperialism, etc., has adopted a number of measures to increase the defensive power of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, and the fighting strength of the Red Army. The numerical strength of the Red Army has been increased from 900,000 to 1,300,000 men. The number of regular divisions has been increased to cover 77 per cent of the men in the Red Army and only 23 per cent of the divisions have remained territorial units.

However, even with this increase, the number of army men per thousand civilians is considerably smaller in the Soviet Union than in the capitalist countries.

Naturally, the increase in the strength of the Red Army, both in numbers and in technical equipment, has made it necessary to increase the expenditure of its upkeep. Whereas in the year 1935 the expenditure of the People's Commissariat of Defense represented 12.8 per cent of the state budget, the figure estimated for the year 1936 is 18.3 per cent. The budget of the People's Commissariat of Defense, according to the 1936 plan, amounts to 14,800 million rubles as compared with 8,200 million rubles in 1935. This increase in the budget has been to a considerable degree called forth by the care being taken by the Party and the Soviet government to improve the material and cultural conditions of the commanders and political workers and rank and file men in the Red Army. Out of these funds there are to be built well-arranged barracks, houses for the commanders, sanatoria, rest homes, sports grounds, etc. This increase has been heartily endorsed by the toilers in the Soviet Union.

Whereas in capitalist states an increase in expenditure on military requirements brings in its train an inevitable increase in the burden of taxation, and therefore worse living conditions for the toilers, in the

Soviet Union, on the contrary, as can be seen from the National Economic Plan for the year 1936, the conditions of the workers and masses of collective farmers are not only not worsened, but are considerably improved. In 1936 the national income will increase by 26.5 per cent. The economic power of the U.S.S.R., the bright prospects of further development allow of the increase in the assignments for the requirements of defense, without any sacrifice of the vital interests of the toilers.

During recent years the forces of he Red Army have grown many, many times, and now, as Comrade Voroshilov correctly declared at the conference of Stakhanov workers:

> "We do not raise the question at all as to whether we shall conquer the enemy or not. We shall undoubtedly conquer. . . . The question that we now put is: at what price, at the cost of what efforts, and with what sacrifices, shall we conquer?"

Remembering the advice of their leader—"don't get swelled heads", the men and commanders in the Red Army are not resting on their laurels, are not sparing themselves, but with enthusiasm, with tremendous joy and faith in their own strength, are increasing their knowledge, their fighting power, and are mastering the varied technique at their disposal. The Stakhanov movement, which has burst forth like a storm throughout the country, has been caught up with unprecedented enthusiasm by the Red Army as well.

The Stakhanov Red Army men—pilots, tankists, sailors, railwaymen, rank and file and communication men—are beating all existing records, are achieving miracles.

The conscious, iron discipline in the Red Army, the extraordinary unanimity between the men and their commanders, the correct relations between them based upon the mutual understanding that exists between them, upon respect and confidence, all encourage this.

During leisure hours, the commanders, from the junior ranks to the high command, play chess, football and tennis with the rank and file, and participate on an equal basis with them in the various Party and social organizations.

From the bourgeois viewpoint as regards the organizational principles of the structures of the army, such relations should undermine the authority of the commander and the discipline of the army. But in Red Army conditions, when the basis of the relations between people is respect for the human worth of each citizen of the Soviet Republic, such relations between the men and their commanders not only do not undermine discipline and the authority of the commanders in the army, but, on the contrary, they strengthen conscious discipline, create an atmosphere of true respect around the commander, imbue the Red Army men with a feeling of sincere love and comradely loyalty towards their commander.

How great was the pleasure and joy with which the Red Army men greeted the decision of the Soviet government to allocate individual military ranks to the commanders and political leaders of the army.

> "Our lieutenants, captains, and colonels," runs the resolution of a general meeting of the men of the First Rifle Division, "are the sons of the workers and peasants, and are connected with us, Red Army men, with the blood ties of our class. We are glad for our commanders, and believe that they will bear with honor their military ranks, given them by the workers' and peasants' government."

Is this not an illustration of the true respect and love felt by the Red Army men towards their commanders?

A number of writers in the bourgeois press greeted the news of the introduction of military ranks in the workers' and peasants' Red Army, with great rejoicing as a return to the old custom. You rejoice in vain, gentlemen! There is not, nor can there be, any return to the old customs. The Red Army commander is a specialist of the art of warfare, and an example of courage, consciousness, and of a cultured outlook, an example of comradely relations towards the Red Army men. The marshals, colonels, majors and lieutenants of the Red Army remain first and most the sons of workers and collective farmers. They are intimately connected with their class, they are indissolubly connected with the rank and file men of what is a real people's Red Army.

The toiling masses of the Soviet Union love and are proud of their Red Army, which defends all the peoples included in the 170,000,000 population of the Soviet Union. With what love, with what triumph did the workers and collective farmers meet the Red Army detachments marching past or standing at their posts during the autumn maneuvers of 1935. With what love the young people of the U.S.S.R. send their letters and various presents to their comrades—the border frontier guards—who vigilantly protect the Soviet frontier line which stretches a distance of 60,000 kilometers.

The best people of the socialist village, for example, the heroic collective farming women Katerina Androshuk and Ustinia Denisenko on their return to their collective farm from Moscow, where the government awarded them the Order of Lenin, paid their first visit to the Red Army men and commanders of the N artillery regiment.

These collective farming women told the men and their commanders how they had gathered 511 centners of peas per hectare and now they intend in the future to gather 600 centners. Androshuk told of her prosperous life in the collective farm.

Here is yet another interesting fact.

On October 12, last year, a Japano-Manchurian detachment, consisting over 40 men, crossed the Soviet frontier in the Grodekovo region.

The frontier guards began to signal that the detachment had violated the frontier. The Japanese did not retreat. Shooting took place and in the battle one of the best Red Army men of the outpost, Vassili Kotelnikov, was killed (the outpost is named after him now).

On receipt from the head of the detachment of the news of the death of his brother, Peter Kotelnikov, a young engineer 29 years old and employed in the "Metalsyrye" Works, Donetz Basin, told his fiancée—a foreman in the same works, that he wanted to join the Red Army

voluntarily, without waiting to be called up, and to take the place of his brother. The father approved his son's decision. Peter placed his application with the corresponding authorities requesting that they despatch him to defend the frontiers. The request of the brother of the frontier guard who so heroically perished was met, and now Peter is a fighter in the frontier detachment where his brother formerly served.

In a cheerful letter written to the *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, Peter Kotelnikov among other things writes: "Life is good here. All the care and attention with which our fathers, brothers, and sisters surround us, sentinels of our fatherland, is profoundly touching."

In what other country but the proletarian state can such fraternal ties be established between the army and the people?

* * *

Side by side with the general advance in the material well-being of the toilers of the Land of Soviets, and the rise in the cultural and technical level of the workers and collective farmers, the cultural and technical level of the Red Army men is rising at a rapid rate. The Red Army offers the best examples of the socialist education of people.

> "Our Red Army, a school of socialist education and training in new technique for millions of people, is among the most active in raising the cultural level of the population. . . . Our Red Army is not only the foundation of our country's defense, but also a school of the new culture of the workers' and peasants' state."*

These admirable words of Comrade Molotov are confirmed by tens of thousands of facts. Many Stakhanov workers are people who have passed through the school that is the Red Army. Many chairmen of collective farms, brigadiers, and collective farm and Soviet state farm shockworkers are people who have come from the Red Army. Here is typical letters written by a demobilized Red Army man from Siberia o his commander:

> "Comrade Commander,
>
> "You cannot imagine how much I long to shake you by the hand and offer my Red Army thanks to you for all, for everything. What was I when I came to the Red Army? Half-illiterate, and without class-consciousness. I would sit at village meetings and understand nothing; nor did I want to listen. There was class-consciousness for you! And now they've elected me chairman of the collective farm. I conduct a political circle with our collective farmers, I deliver reports in the club, and have organized a dramatic circle. I am very keen to stage a play."

In the Red Army the battle for culture in the broadest sense of the word has been launched all along the front. Now, by the eighteenth

* Molotov, Concluding Speech at the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of e U.S.S.R., Seventh Assembly.

anniversary of the Red Army, it has throughout the U.S.S.R. thirteen military academies on various specialties, six military faculties attached to civil universities, and many military schools of different kinds, all training army cadres. In the Red Army units there are about 1,000 clubs, 2,000 Red Army libraries with a total number of 12,000,000 books.

The cultural level of the living conditions of the Red Army men and their commanders is improving every year.

The Presidium* of the last Party Conference of the Trans-Caucasus visited the sapper company of the First Georgian Regiment, situated in a lonely part of the Georgian Soviet Republic.

Here are the impressions of their visit as given by the conference delegates:

> "We were astonished at the state of affairs we found in the sapper company. There is the cleanliness of an exemplary sanatorium in the rooms of the Red Army men. Excellent spring bedsteads, each man with a tidy locker and books. On the lockers, white cloths and electric table-lamps. By the side of each bed, a soft carpet and carpet slippers. On the wall at the head of each bed, wireless earphones. We dined with the Red Army men. The food was excellent. It appears that overnight the men express their desire in writing concerning what they would like for the next day, choosing from the pretty varied assortment of dishes offered in the menu."

This example clearly shows the growing culture of the Red Army and its national units, the representatives of which latter were always an object of jeers and insults in the old tsarist barracks. The emancipated peoples of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the Communist Party are building up their national units with tremendous enthusiasm, and many of these units, as regards military and political training, are in no way inferior to the rest of the Red Army units.

A whole number of nationalities, who never before served in the hated tsarist army of old Russia, now bear with great pride the name of Red Army men and commanders of the united workers' and peasants' army, and are prepared at the first call of the government of the Soviet Union to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army men from Russia proper, just as the Germans, Hungarians, Finns, Latvians, and other people in the international Red Army regiments fought during the years of civil war, for the life and liberty of the motherland they had acquired for themselves for the first time.

All these successes are the result of the friendship established between the people of the U.S.S.R. In this friendship lies the guarantee that

> ". . . the peoples of our country will be free and unconquerable. We fear nobody, no enemies either at home or abroad, so long as this friendship lives and flourishes" (Stalin).

* * *

* The Presidium is the group of comrades, usually the most outstanding, elected at the beginning of a conference to guide the proceedings.—*Ed.*

The care shown for the Red Army by the Party and government, and especially the personal care evinced by Comrade Stalin, is a tremendous stimulus for the whole of the Red Army in its struggle for the skilful mastery of technique, in the struggle after culture and knowledge. The tens of thousands of people who have grown up in the army, who are displaying self-sacrifice, courage and heroism in their peace-time studies, are the best proof that the U.S.S.R. has an army at its disposal worthy of the fatherland of the proletariat of all countries. The strength of the Red Army is invincible. But the Red Army does not rest content with the successes already achieved, and to the great fear of all the enemies of the proletariat, continues to perfect itself, and to strengthen its military and political might. Broad masses of the toilers in the capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples of the colonies fully recognize that the further consolidation of the might of the Red Army affords the land where Soviet power is triumphant an opportunity of peacefully continuing its world historic work of building the classless society. The toiling masses throughout the world understand full well, in addition, that the further consolidation of the Red Army is their own deep concern, for it is defending the cause of the international proletariat.

Concerning the "Rude Prava"—Central Organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

By V. KOPETSKY

IN consequence of the loss of revolutionary, Bolshevik vigilance, enemies of the Party wormed their way into the *Rude Pravo*, the central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, and tried, and to some extent were very successful, in making use of the central organ for the propaganda of alien ideas, hostile to Bolshevism, and contrary to the line of the Comintern and of its Seventh World Congress. Further, there were political errors in the *Rude Pravo* prior to the last article as well, which led, finally, to the exposure of Budin, the chief editor of the paper, and to his being driven out of the Party. Here we will try to show in more detail how the enemies of the Party, who had entrenched themselves in the central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, gradually prepared the conditions making it possible for them to come out on the pages of the Communist press with openly chauvinist articles.

* * *

As early as the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the *Rude Pravo* failed to cope with the task of giving publicity to the work of the Congress and its decisions. While the entire non-Communist press of Czechoslovakia reacted in a more lively fashion to the reports and speeches delivered at the Congress, and ran comments on its sessions in leading editorials and a large number of articles, the *Rude Pravo* could only find space on the third page for the report delivered by Comrade Dimitroff which was of tremendous historic importance. The *Rude Pravo* did not even accompany the speech delivered by Comrade Gottwald at the Congress which laid down the program of new tactics for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia with any explanations at all, and remained silent in reply to the attacks of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic press against this speech. Neither during the sessions of the Congress nor afterwards did the *Rude Pravo* deign to print a single comment or a single original article about the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and its decisions.

Can this unexampled silence concerning the Seventh Congress of the Comintern by the central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia be explained merely as the result of the bad work of our special correspondents? By no means. Now that the leadership of the Com-

munist Party of Czechoslovakia has been compelled to adopt measures against certain persons in the Editorial Board of the Rude Pravo, *as agents of the enemy caught red-handed at their work*, it has become clear that the indifferent attitude of the *Rude Pravo* to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern signifies not merely neglect of their journalistic duties but also ***downright political sabotage***.

The clear words of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, the clear fashion of raising the new tactical line of the Comintern, met with no interpretation in the Editorial Board of the *Rude Pravo*. But opportunist mistakes and politically incorrect views of the Party leadership, far from the line of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, found enthusiastic interpreters in the *Rude Pravo*. The *Rude Pravo* did not, however, limit itself to merely stating these incorrect views, but developed them still further. Anything in the Party policy that was merely a wrong step, an opportunist tendency, was often developed in the *Rude Pravo*, into a social-patriotic, bourgeois democratic viewpoint.

The *Rude Pravo* interpreted in its own way the decisions of the Seventh Congress on the application of united front tactics in the new way, almost entirely refusing in actual practice to criticize Social-Democracy at all, refusing to defend the principles of Communist policy, and creating the impression that since the Seventh Congress the Communists have changed their appraisal of the policy of Social-Democracy, no longer condemn that policy and that this change is the basis for a rapprochement between the Communists and Social-Democrats. Here we already have an open transfer to the Social-Democratic position, and a departure from the line of the Comintern. From that point the road leads straight to the distortions of the decisions of the Congress, to the beginning of bouquet presentations to all the Social-Democratic leaders. According to the *Rude Pravo*, Hampel, Nechas and all who in greater or lesser degree are supporters of the united front are Lefts. The *Rude Pravo* calls Rudolph Bechyne alone a Right. In one of the issues of the *Rude Pravo*, the following heading appeared in heavy type: "*Minister Nechas makes accusations against capitalist resistance in the government.*" Thus, at the desire of the *Rude Pravo*, Minister Nechas, previously recommended by the paper as a "Left", becomes a bold "warrior" against the capitalists, although with the best will in the world one can find nothing in the report of Nechas' speech except the usual assurances given by the Social-Democrats that they are conducting the class struggle in the Council of Ministers.

Besides painting the Social-Democratic leaders in these colors, the *Rude Pravo* persistently "failed to notice" *tens and hundreds and thousands of extremely clear and determined actions on the part of the Social-Democratic and National-Socialist workers and their organizations on behalf of the united front*, thus directing the masses along the wrong road and sabotaging all attempts made by the masses themselves to find the right road. The *Rude Pravo* never confronted the declarations of Hampel and Tuchny with the activities and resolutions of the Social-Democratic and National-Socialist workers and their organizations,

The position of the *Rude Pravo* was particularly clearly shown during the campaign in connection with the passing of the State Budget, which was debated in Parliament in November and December, and during the campaign in connection with the presidential elections, called after the retirement of T. G. Massarik.

In connection with the debate on the State Budget, a campaign should have been launched, mobilizing the broad masses of the toilers to fight for their own demands, *against the coalition between the Socialist Parties and the reactionary bourgeoisie.* But instead of this, the campaign was conducted in a fashion which caused rumors to be circulated in the press about the alleged preparedness of the Communists to enter the government and their intention to strengthen the positions of the Socialist Parties inside the coalition. And could any other impression arise when by reading the *Rude Pravo* it appeared that the Communists were by no means against the draft budget brought in by the coalition government, but were even in favor of it, in certain conditions. Could any other impression arise when the vote by the *Parliamentary Communist fraction in favor of the Budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Social Insurance* sounded like a vote of confidence in the government, which at that time was already headed by the Right agrarian, Hodja, and which had agreed to collaborate with other reactionary parties? Could any other impression arise when the viewpoint of the Parliamentary Communist fraction on the Budget of the War Ministry was described in the *Rude Pravo* under the heading: *"The Communists are in favor of strong defense?"* Could any other impression arise, when the Party policy was given such a tone that a comrade, in an article on the political situation and the work of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia could exclaim pathetically: *"The Communists are not afraid of penal prisons, neither do they fear ministerial portfolios."*

The tone of loyal opposition inside the bourgeois state, which rang out in the *Rude Pravo* in connection with the voting of the draft budgets of the two ministries and in connection with the presidential elections, reflected the wrong tendencies manifested in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on the questions of defending democracy, defending the republic, and defending the independence of the small nations, etc. As regards the defense of the republic and the independence of the Czech nation, the *Rude Pravo* wrote in a spirit as though it were all a matter of the fate of the Czech nation, of the preservation of its state independence. Just as though we are not interested in the fate of other nations in Czechoslovakia, as though we had rejected the struggle for their liberation, the struggle for self-determination. The question of the mutual assistance pact between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia was dealt with in the *Rude Pravo* as though it followed therefrom that the Communists of Czechoslovakia must adopt a position of mitigating the struggle against the existing regime, of confidence in bourgeois ministers, of approval of the budgets of the war ministry, of supporting the army, armaments, and so on.

These wrong tendencies were displayed in the whole of the Party

press. The *Rude Pravo* as the central organ of the Party gave the political line to other Party newspapers, and the *Rote Fahne*, as well as the *Liudovy Dennik* (daily Party newspapers for the German and Slovene regions), reprinted some of the articles from the *Rude Pravo*.

The language used corresponded to this tone of the *Rude Pravo* which made away even with the terminology of the class struggle on its pages, using instead the style of "high politics", loud phrases and methods peculiar to the petty-bourgeois scribes. It was not at all astonishing that the worker correspondents of the *Rude Pravo* had a bad time. And when the workers complained about it in their letters to the *Rude Pravo*, the former editor-in-chief, S. Budin, wrote a special article on the question in which he gave them an insolent reply, full of mockery. The workers could not but feel that there were not merely alien elements, but class enemies, in the leadership of the central organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

One of these enemies was the editor-in-chief of the *Rude Pravo*, S. Budin. In the discussion supplement to the *Rude Pravo* published in connection with the preparations for the Seventh Congress of the Party, he published an article entitled: "What is Czech Social-Democracy like?" in which he expounded the following views, with reference to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern:

> "We observe a crisis of Social-Democracy in all sections of the Second International. French Social-Democracy is adopting the platform of class struggle. The illegal Social-Democratic parties in Italy, in Germany and in the Baltic countries are conducting a revolutionary struggle against fascism. The leaders of the the Lefts in the Second International, Bauer, Dan and Zyromski, have published their theses "The International and War', in which they give an analysis of the tasks of the proletariat in the event of war by fascist Germany against the U.S.S.R. and the democratic states, and define these tasks—if we put aside a number of secondary reservations—in conformity with the resolution adopted by the Seventh Congress of the Comintern on the report delivered by Comrade Ercoli. The Amsterdam trade unions are returning to their primary mission of proletarian class organizations."

As regards Czech Social-Democracy, S. Budin wrote:

> "Czech Social-Democracy today is not what it was two years ago. Look at its attitude towards the Soviet Union. Today, Social-Democracy, unlike the bourgeois 'friends' of the Soviet Union, is among its sincere friends. On this question it has wholly arrived at the position to which Bauer arrived two years ago: it recognizes the socialist nature of the Soviet Union, but speaks of the specifically Russian character of Bolshevism. Otto Bauer has already gone considerably farther ahead. . . ."

And further:

> "Hampel, although with reservations, although not definitely, although as it seems to us, still trying to maneuver as regards

us and the agrarians, is nevertheless in favor of the class struggle, in favor of working class unity."

In another article S. Budin wrote:

"Today the majority of the Social-Democratic parties are borrowing Communist views on the question of the class struggle, the question of the attitude to the bourgeois state, the question of the social revolution, the question of imperialist war, etc."

These quotations illustrate the fact that Budin had so let himself go that he had decided to conduct open propaganda in the Communist newspaper in favor of Social-Democracy and its leaders under the pretext of "unity". The cycle was complete: from *silence* on the line of the Comintern to open *propaganda* of anti-Communist slogans.

* * *

Investigations into the wrecking work of Budin revealed many other things: he provided the headings for different reports and articles on the Soviet Union and the Comintern, in which headings in the *Ruda Pravo* under guise of irony, Budin was serving an absolutely definite aim: consciously and tendenciously to discredit the Soviet Union, the Comintern and the Communist movement in general. It has been established that the historic speeches delivered by Comrade Stalin were published in odd corners of the paper, that all criticism not only of Social-Democracy but of the Trotskyists was cut out of articles sent in to the *Rude Pravo;* on the other hand, the *Rude Pravo* even gave publicity to a number of Trotskyists. It has further been established that in the *Rude Pravo* the publication of information and workers' letters about the magnificent successes of the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. was sabotaged while the Stakhanov movement was either silently passed over or incorrectly dealt with.

Budin has been expelled from the ranks of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. But his case serves as a warning, and as a proof of how insufficient even now the revolutionary vigilance is in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and in the Central Committee, of the irresponible fashion in which the most important posts in the Party were filled, and what an unhealthy state of affairs existed on the question of the relation between the leadership of the Party and the leadership of its Central Party organ.

For the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, it is not only a question of correcting the political mistakes made in the press, but of the necessity of the Central Committee of the Party to give Leninist, Bolshevik gwidance in principle to its central organ.

We must put an end once and for all to the state of affairs in which the editorial board of the central organ of the Party becomes a second political center, pursuing its own policy. We cannot tolerate a situation in which the leadership of the Party does not feel itself fully responsible for its central organ, for its political line. The Central Committee of

the Party must take proper control of the *Rude Pravo*. The editorial work must not be entrusted to unreliable, untried people. In selecting editors, comrades have up to now been guided in the main by the bad practice of assigning exclusively literary men, students, intellectuals for the work on the paper, without taking into account whether they were politically absolutely sound and staunch workers. There can and must be no excuses about an alleged lack of worker-editors. These cadres exist, it is only necessary to know how to find them, how to train them properly and make proper use of them. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia *must set its press in order, and make it one of the most important weapons for the political guidance of the masses.*

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is able to publish its press legally. This being so, is it not a crime that the press does not fulfil its calling, does not give the proper guidance, but on the contrary, disorganizes its own ranks and falls under the influence of enemies and wreckers!

In the recent period, the central organ, in consequence of its mistakes, has caused the Party a great deal of harm. And especially today when correcting its mistakes, the press must occupy a position in the foreground. It must fight for the correct application of the policy of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, against all distortions, whether of an opportunist sectarian nature. The press must encourage the further ideological, Bolshevik consolidation of the Party leadership under the banner of the Communist International. The Party press must be imbued with fiery enthusiasm in the face of the great tasks which the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is fully determined to fulfil under the leadership of Comrade Gottwald, in the spirit of the decisions of the Communist International, led by Comrade Dimitroff.

"New Trends in Socialism"

By A. KRONOS

THE 15 young authors of the collection of articles under review* (by the way, on the cover they are recommended to the reader as "future leaders" of the Labor Party) are by no means *on the defense*, as one might imagine from the title, but *polemize* against the "new trends" in the ranks of the Labor movement which is seeking a serious reply to new questions raised by the workers during the last 15 years. The discussions, accompanying the differentiation inside the Labor Party, and the resistance made by its more or less radical members to the official line of the Labor Party leadership find a distorted, but at the same time characteristic and significant, reflection in this book. The struggle of the different trends is elucidated here only from one side—from the viewpoint of the reactionary wing of the Laborites, which represents, in the Second International, the most active center sabotaging the international working class united front. On all fundamental questions, the authors polemize against the supporters of the united front, and are compelled to adopt a defensive position in regard to revolutionary ideas, the influence of which is growing in the ranks of the English working class movement. In this measure, serious differences inside the Labor movement are expressed here, although the individual currents are not given the opportunity to express themselves.

The majority of the authors belong to the 1900-1907 generation; they are recommended as representatives of the young, post-war generation. But at bottom the book repeats the musty ideas of the old leaders. The young "innovators" take as the basis of their polemics the German and Austrian experiences of Social-Democracy, but in these experiences they only found sufficient for them once again to provide a basis for the old theory of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and the peaceful development to socialism, preached by the German and Austrian Social-Democratic Parties which came to grief on it.

In the majority of the articles the question of the united front occupies the central position. All the authors most determinedly reject the united front with the Communists. Here they say that the English capitalists will not give up democracy, only unless the influence of the Communists and Marxists increases! (Robert Fraser, p. 86.) Here there are repeated the words of Sir Walter Citrine about the Marxist methods leading to a state of affairs where one fascist made his appearance for every Communist. The German Social-Democrats belonging to the "New Beginning" trend (the Miles group), are declared to be Communists, and the assertion is made that to apply their tactics in England would lead to the establishment of fascism (George I. Ketlin, p. 274 and

* *New Trends in Socialism*, edited by G. E. G. Catlin. With a Preface by Arthur Henderson, London, 1935. Lovat Dickson and Thompson, Ltd., XIV, 293 pp.

after). More than this, they even hurl calumny at the Communists and ascribe to them the notorious lie of allegedly wanting the establishment of fascist dictatorship, as the best precondition for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The question of the working class front as a mighty weapon in the struggle against fascism and reaction has long become a question of vital revolutionary practice. It is a question which must be analyzed on the basis of facts, on the basis of the practical experience and results which have been achieved, for example, in France. However, every time the authors of this book mention the *practical political* questions of the united front and the struggle against fascism and the war danger, they reveal a complete "ignorance" of actual realities. On the other hand, when the authors begin to talk about *theoretical* questions, they reiterate the view that the "Anglo-Saxon mind only believes in concrete experiences".

The English workers know numerous examples of the united front being set up in the struggle to defend their standard of living, to raise wages, against the armaments program of the National government, against Mosley and against Hitler. They remember the successful struggle against Part II of the Unemployment Bill, which forced the government to make concessions; the English workers saw the work of the Communists during the last general election, their role in the struggle of the unemployed and in the campaign on behalf of the miners' demands, their struggle for affiliation to the Labor Party. If the English workers are conscious of these experiences (and the Communists must help them to become so), as well as the experience of the development of the united front in other countries—the tremendous successes of the united front and the people's front in France—this will be the "practical test" for them which the authors of the book recommend as a quality of Anglo-Saxon philosophy, but which they dare not themselves apply concretely.

Fraser, a "prominent figure" on the *Daily Herald*, heaps up one "argument" after another against the united front. The Communists, says Fraser, put themselves outside the framework of the general opinion that violence should not be resorted to. The Conservatives, he adds, also share this opinion. Hence it follows that collaboration with the Conservatives is possible, while collaboration with the Communists is logically absurd and must have catastropic consequences for the strategy of the working class. By "violence" they mean the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In one measure or another, the authors try to depict the idea of the class struggle as something in the nature of an imported commodity unsuited to English conditions, despite the fact that it is precisely the English proletariat that has the *oldest* traditions of the class struggle. But not only traditions—it is sufficient to call to mind the 1926 General Strike, or the big demonstrations of the unemployed which took place last year. In conversation with H. G. Wells, Comrade Stalin particularly stressed the point that the history of England, as well as the history of every other country, go to confirm the fact that "the classes which

have outlived their day do not voluntarily leave the historic arena". Speaking of Cromwell, Comrade Stalin pointed out:

> "In the name of the Constitution he resorted to violence, beheaded the king, disbanded the parliament, arrested some and beheaded others."

In so far as the Communists are supporters of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the authors presume that the united front with them for a struggle against fascism would be an alliance with anti-democrats against anti-democrats. Very original logic!

First of all, the Communists have never anywhere declared that their allies in the struggle against fascism and reaction must of necessity stand for the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Alliances, coalitions, compromises, as a general rule, are distinguished by the fact that they constitute an agreement between different organizations with differing interests and viewpoints. The French Communists have not gone over to the side of Social-Democratic ideology, neither have the French Socialists (not to mention the Radicals) recognized the program of the Communist International; but the French have set up a powerful movement of the people capable of and already exerting tangible and universally recognized influence upon the fate of their country in the struggle against fascism and for peace. The English "empiricists" try not to see this. Is it possible that the united front and the anti-fascist people's front are anti-democratic phenomena? And is it not true that the Communists took the initiative in defending every bit of the democratic liberties of the people against the encroachments of monopolist capital?

Second, what can be more calumnious than to depict the dictatorship of the proletariat as anti-democratic state power? Bourgeois democracy, so much praised in the book, presents, without the slightest doubt, the most favorable conditions, under capitalism, for the struggle of the working class; nevertheless, it is only one of the forms of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the toilers. On the contrary, the Soviet government is the broadest democracy for all toilers, as the example of the U.S.S.R. shows quite clearly; it can be guaranteed only by suppressing the resistance which the capitalist classes offer against the building of socialism, and this is the other side of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the authors of this book argue further: since propaganda of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat frightens away the middle sections of society, it drives them into the arms of fascism.

The main article on this subject is written by Ellen Wilkinson, who without offering any criticism, accepts the legend about the increase in the relative importance of the middle classes numerically, socially and politically, and of the decrease in the role of the working class. Hence the conclusion is drawn that since the revolution is brought about only by the classes which are on the upgrade of development, the coming revolution will be a revolution of the middle sections of society. Attack-

ng the Comintern and its policy, Ellen Wilkinson declaims first and foremost against the Marxist doctrine of the hegemony of the proletariat. As far as she is concerned, the economic and political relations between classes remain a book closed with seven seals, and, therefore, she cannot make any tactical proposals about the establishment of a bloc of the toiling classes. Instead of this she simply recommends "fraternization" between the workers and the technical intellectuals in industry, where they must get acquainted with each other, carry on discussions, and peacefully collaborate with each other. In other words what is actually proposed is the latest recipe for increasing the influence of the capitalists over the workers.

Fraser also calls the problem of the middle strata, the central problem. The united front, the class struggle and proletarian solidarity are bound, he suggests, to drive the middle sections into the camp of fascism —this is the thesis which Fraser puts forward. He willingly sacrifices the interests of the workers and their fighting power which consists of solidarity and organizations, under the pretext that otherwise the middle sections might be "insulted". Fraser forgets that the working class can win confidence and authority in the eyes of the middle classes only when it acts as a solid body, when it proves in actual practice that it is capable of defending the interests of all toilers in the struggle against capital. The "experience", to which Fraser refers in this connection is the policy of German Social-Democracy, which he describes quite incorrectly as the strictly class party of the German proletariat.

Fraser correctly makes the policy of German Social-Democracy responsible for the fact that in Germany the middle classes went over from the Weimar Republic to Hitler, but historical experience shows that fascism was victorious not because Social-Democracy developed the class struggle too determinedly, but, on the contrary, because it reflected the class struggle, because it constantly capitulated to the bourgeoisie, the common enemy both of the proletariat and the toilers of the middle classes.

Fraser and the others preach the same sort of "class collaboration" as was pursued in Germany, for England. English socialism, they assert, is not a *class* movement, but a *national* movement (p. 84).

This being the line of the authors, there is no cause to spend many words on the "constructive policy" which they propose and which is merely another name for collaboration with the British bourgeoisie. It is not surprising, therefore, that the question of the transition to socialism causes them no trouble at all.

"The seizure of power" through parliamentary voting and the growth into socialism is the road along which Social-Democracy led the majority of the German and Austrian workers, and which, as we know, in the long run led to fascist dungeons. And it is this same road that the authors propose to the English workers. To stress this still more, the authors hail the "new liberalism": the Labor Party did not come in order to destroy the symbol of faith of liberalism, but in order to put it into practice (Ivor Thomas, p. 17).

On the basis of the whole of the experiences of history, the Com-

munists assert that no single class voluntarily gave up its power, and that the capitalists are not inclined to give up their privileges, if they are compelled to do so. How naive! exclaim our young "future leaders" in this regard, and they ask: were the capitalists ever against making the telephone public property? History says nothing about an armed uprising of the capitalists in cases like this, says Milne-Bailey. And indeed, why should they refuse or be indignant, he writes further on, so long as their incomes are better assured through public ownership than through private property? And the name they give to this proposal that the workers "buy off" capitalist property is "socialism".

Thus, it is not surprising that this National-Socialism, which has made a break with the working class, defends the imperialist British Empire. The authors paint the policy of British imperialism in bright colors. They present British imperialism with a certificate of dependability: for British imperialism, it seems, the period of armed expansion has passed, once and for all (Allan Young, p. 139). They jeer at the idea of converting imperialist war into civil war (Frank Hardy, pp. 38-39). Not only do they justify the existing system of oppression of the colonial peoples in the British Empire, but they openly demand that it should continue to exist in the coming "Socialist Empire".

It is not easy to justify such a reactionary trend in the eyes of the workers, and this explains the defensive attitude of the authors in respect to Left trends, which demand the united front and a consistent struggle against reaction. The authors realize their own weakness. This is why Catlin gives a warning signal: the time has passed (or has not yet begun) for theoretical polemics; it is not to the advantage of "Socialists" today to draw up a theory of "real Socialism" in opposition to Marxism-Leninism; it is not advisable to sharpen the existing *differences* in the ranks of the Labor movement, for this will only drive into the Communist Party the serious Socialists, who entertain doubts concerning the tactical line (p. 276).

However, the workers and all toilers demand clarity concerning the road ahead, and the authors cannot avoid their "cursed questions". But it is just this above all that the authors of the book fear. And their panegyrics concerning democracy and the right to free discussion are, and remain, mere empty phrases· for they refuse to allow the Communists to affiliate to the Labor Party, they refuse them the right to have discussions with all the workers concerning the burning questions of the day. But in spite of the efforts of the Right leaders, the Labor Party organizations and the workers belonging to them are becoming more and more convinced that they must take the road of the united front so as to carry on a serious, unreserved struggle against the attacks of capital upon the standard of living of the toilers, against fascism, reaction and the war danger.

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